

A  
DISCOURSE  
ON THE  
EVANGELICAL HISTORY.



B I S C O U R S E

ON THE

E V A N G E L I C A L H I S T O R Y

A  
DISCOURSE  
ON THE  
EVANGELICAL HISTORY,  
FROM THE  
INTERMENT TO THE ASCENSION  
OF  
OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST.

BY THE LATE REVEREND  
THOMAS TOWNSON, D.D.

ARCHDEACON OF RICHMOND; ONE OF THE RECTORS OF  
MALPAS, CHESHIRE; AND SOMETIME FELLOW  
OF ST. MARY MAGDALEN COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED  
AN ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR.

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MDCCXCIII.

DISCOURSE  
OF THE  
EVANGELICAL HISTORY  
FROM THE  
INTERMENT TO THE ASCENSION  
OF  
**IMPRIMATUR.**

OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST.  
**JOHAN. COOKE, VICE-CAN.**

C. C. C.  
Oxon. Maii 5<sup>th</sup>. 1792.

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND  
WILLIAM LORD BISHOP OF CHESTER

THE FOLLOWING WORK

INTRUSTED TO THE CARE OF THE EDITOR

BY ONE OF THE LATEST ACTS

OF AN AUTHOR EMINENT FOR

GENIUS LEARNING VIRTUE AND PIETY

IS INSCRIBED

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S FAITHFUL AND

AFFECTIONATE HUMBLE SERVANT

JOHN LOVEDAY.

Nov. 1. 1792.



TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

WILLIAM LORD BISHOP OF CHESTER

THE FOLLOWING WORK

INTENDED TO THE CASE OF THE BISHOP

BY ONE OF THE LATEST AGENTS

OF AN AGENCY OF THE BISHOP

OF THE BISHOP OF CHESTER

IN THE BISHOP

BY THE BISHOP OF CHESTER

ATTACHED TO THE BISHOP

JOHN BISHOP

NOV. 1875

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## I N D E X

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S O M E  
A C C O U N T  
O F  
T H E A U T H O R.

*Non possum reticere, Deæ, qua Manlius in re  
Juxerit, aut quantis juxerit officiis.*

CATULLI.

1802

ALCOVINT

1802

THE A U T H O R

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A C C O U N T  
O F  
T H E A U T H O R.

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**T**HE Reverend THOMAS TOWNSON, D.D. author of the following work, was the eldest son of the Reverend John Townson, M. A. rector of Much Lees in Essex, by his wife Lucretia, daughter of the Reverend Edward Wiltshire, rector of Kirkanders in Cumberland. He was born in 1715, and baptized the seventh of April. They had issue, besides, two sons and three daughters: Anne Stuart, who died in 1750: Lucretia, married June 10, 1761, to the Reverend Thomas Winchester, D.D. rector of Appleton, Berks: Edward Wiltshire, and Eleanor, who both died young: and John, who in 1780 was chosen member of Parliament for Milbourn Port, and re-chosen in 1784; and is one of the Directors of the Honourable the East India Company.

Mr. Townson the father was a native of Lancashire; but the family came originally from Yorkshire:



shire: and it is believed that Robert Townson, bishop of Salisbury in the last century, was of the same stock.<sup>1</sup> He was educated in St. Mary Magdalen Hall in Oxford; and was admitted to the degree of Master of Arts in 1710. He was presented in June 1713 to the rectory of Much Lees, by Margaret, Catharine, and Anne Lennard, coheiresses of the Honourable Henry Lennard, second son of Francis Lord Dacre; who afterwards sold the advowson to Lincoln College in Oxford. Mr. Townson rebuilt the parsonage (1716), and instituted a charity school; which being, I presume, supported by subscriptions contributed or procured by him fell at his death. He was chaplain to the last duchess of Buckingham; and traveled with her son, the last duke. Those who remember him say, "he was a most ingenious man;"<sup>2</sup> which the reader probably will readily believe on perusing the following lines, with which I shall close what I have to say concerning the family, and return to the more immediate subject of this narrative:

Translation of SANNAZARIUS'S VERSES ON VENICE,<sup>3</sup>

By J. T. 1715.

Venice amidst the waves when Neptune saw,  
And to the fetter'd ocean giving law;

<sup>1</sup> On the authority of the late James Harris, Esq. of Salisbury, one of whose ancestors married a daughter of Bishop Townson. See Gent. Mag. 1792, p. 817.

<sup>2</sup> The Rev. Thomas Chappell, of Witham, Essex, now (August 1792) in his 82d year. Morant also calls him "the ingenious Mr. Townson." Hist. of Essex, vol. ii. p. 98.

<sup>3</sup> See Delectus Epigramm. l. vii. ii.

Now,

## THE AUTHOR.

Now, Jove, he said, Tarpeian towers oppose,  
And walls where Mars his habitation chose :  
To Tiber's stream if Adria must give way,  
The glories of each city well survey ;  
And, these compar'd, you will confess this odds,  
That Rome had men to found her, Venice gods.

Having been instructed a while by his excellent father, he was placed under the Reverend Henry Nott, vicar of the neighbouring parish of Terling ; where he was soon distinguished for quickness of apprehension and a most retentive memory.<sup>1</sup> From Terling he was removed to the free school at Felsted, a seminary of antient repute, where, besides other persons of eminence, Dr. Wallis, and Dr. Barrow were educated. It flourished at this time under the direction of the Rev. Mr. Wyatt, studious alike to cultivate purity of morals and accuracy of learning in his young charge. Mr. Townson's father however, though he confided his son to so worthy a master, did not neglect one precaution ; which was to put into his hands such editions or such copies of Horace and other classics, from which those passages that cannot enter the mind without contaminating it, had been carefully expunged ; with an injunction religiously to avoid the danger of perusing them. He remembered with gratitude this parental precept throughout life, and, as occasion served, gave similar advice to others ; convinced that the absence of temptation, and ignorance of vice, are among the best preservatives against its contagion.

<sup>1</sup> From the information of Mr. Chappell, his school-fellow there.

He was entered a commoner of Christ Church March 13, 1733; and had for his tutor the Reverend John Whitfield, M. A. who afterwards (1738) succeeded the ingenious Mr. Spence as Poetry Professor in the university, and was a man of parts and elegant learning. Here, as at school, Mr. Townson's proficiency was rapid; and his poetical as well as general talents, united with the utmost regularity and obligingness of manners, soon recommended him to notice and esteem.\* He had been at college little more than a year when he sustained an irreparable loss in the death of his ever honoured father, who deceased in May 1734, and was interred in the chancel of his own church. His widow, an excellent and pious lady, survived him long; and had the happiness of seeing her children prosper in the world.

\* From the information of one of his contemporaries. He has two copies of hexameters while he was an undergraduate in the Oxford Gratulations; one on the marriage of the Princess Anne to the Prince of Orange, 1734; the other on the marriage of Frederick Prince of Wales, 1736. They have merit; but two other copies, extant also in the Oxford collections, which I suspect to be his, though they appear under another name, are superior to them in energy and an easy flow of numbers. These however are of much later date; for the first of them is on the nuptials of his present Majesty, 1761, and begins thus:

“Nympha, animum et formam cui fidera læta decusque  
Dedere, stirpe digna, digna nuptiis;  
Nympha veni,” &c.

The other are hexameters on the birth of the Prince of Wales:

“Nasceris, alme puer,” &c.

Some verses indubitably Dr. Townson's will occasionally be introduced in the following pages.

She



She died the day she completed her 76th year, January 3, 1760.

In July 1735 he was elected Demy of St. Mary Magdalen College, and two years afterwards Fellow of that society, having in the intermediate year (October 20) been admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts. He commenced M. A. June 20, 1739; and was ordained deacon December 20, 1741, and priest September 19, 1742, by Dr. Secker, bishop of Oxford.

Three days after this he set out for France with Mr. Dawkins, in company with Mr. Drake and Mr. Holdsworth. After about eight months they proceeded by way of Marseilles and Toulon to Italy. From Florence Mr. Townson was about to return to England alone; Mr. Dawkins, with whom he traveled, having taken up a resolution to visit Palmyra with Mr. Bouverie and Mr. Wood, who were then in Italy. But Mr. Drake prevailed upon him to accompany him and Mr. Holdsworth during the remainder of the tour. They continued in Italy about a year and half, crossed the Alps by mount Cenis on their return, passed through Germany and Holland, and landed at Harwich, August 26, 1745. From the minutes of his journal, kept with regularity and marked with intelligence, an agreeable volume might easily have been formed, had he been disposed to attempt it. But of the accuracy of such books of travels as are usually given to the public, from a transient view of a country, he entertained no very favourable opinion: in support of which he



occasionally related the following anecdote of his friend and fellow traveller, Mr. Holdsworth. When this gentleman first went into Italy, he composed with some care an account of what he saw. On visiting the same country again, with his former journal in his hand, he altered the narrative, and contracted the substance of it. When he made the same tour a third time, he burnt his papers.

Whilst he was on this classic ground, where every scene revived the memory of some splendid achievement, or introduced him to some illustrious antient, he did not forget his own proper business and profession. When he was at Naples, and twice visited with sympathetic fondness the tomb of his favourite Virgil, he found time nevertheless, with a still more honoured name and sublimer poet, to contemplate the glory of God in the works of creation and in his written law: and the result of his meditations appears in a very fine sermon on the nineteenth Psalm, begun while he was in that city.

Mr. Ruffel, the ingenious author of "Letters from a young Painter abroad," makes honourable mention of Mr. Drake and the two companions of his travels, with whom he was acquainted at Rome, and painted them in "a conversation piece." It

\* In the possession of William Drake, Esq. The family have also a miniature of Mr. Townson, but copied from this, and therefore at double distance from the original. Dean Colet, as some thought, resembled Dr. Townson. See the print in his *Life* by Knight. But the print of Mr. Gambold (published Dec.

is a small unfinished sketch; and the portrait of Mr. Townson, though mildness and sense are characterized in the countenance, never was perhaps a striking likeness: which is the more to be regretted as he would never afterwards, I believe, certainly not in latter life, consent to sit for his picture, though repeatedly solicited by some of his most esteemed and intimate friends.

The following lines, referring to this tour, and written not long after it, may not improperly in this place be laid before the reader. They were sent to Mr. Drake with Mr. Nelson's Address to Persons of Quality:

O decus, o nostrum, cui pectora culta Camœnis  
 Virtutum sanctis ignibus urit amor!  
 Tecum oram vidi Tiberinam, ubi Roma tot annos  
 Tam valida gessit maxima sceptrâ manu;  
 Vidi una septem sparsas in collibus urbis  
 Antiquæ cineres imperiique minas.  
 Prona solo solidis centum subnixa columnis  
 Templaque et infana mole theatra jacent.  
 Inde vides arcus longa pendere ruina,  
 Ibat ubi aeriam lympa Latina viam;  
 Hinc magnis marmor positum victoribus ætas  
 Subruit, et victrix ultima sternit humi.

Dec. 10, 1771, by J. West, from a painting by A. L. Brandt); with some small similitude of feature, gives a better impression of the air and manner of Dr. Townson; in whose looks, however a more vigorous intellect was stamped.

<sup>1</sup> The portrait of Mr. Holdsworth, whose features were stronger, is esteemed a better likeness.

Et

Et quæ cæruleo se porrigit Appia tractu,  
 Ipsa suum mœret busta sepulta ducum.  
 Ecqua urbs, quæ superet Romanas altior arces,  
 Major et imperio sanctior ecqua manet ?  
 Pace potens regina, parens pulcherrima, magno  
 Complexa heroas coelicolasque sinu ;  
 Cui neque vis ævi turres nec fulmina lædant,  
 Nec manus æternas barbara vastet opes ?  
 Marmore quæ tacito nulli tegat ossa, perenni  
 Fonte trahens vitam lætitiâque novam ;  
 Majestas sedeat cui sacri in culmine montis  
 Suprema, et præsens templa sit ipse Deus ?  
 Huc age, Nelsono duce, nitere fortiter, et me  
 Nec tardis comitem passibus ire velis :  
 Qua pia gens nescit metas et tempora rerum,  
 Hic mihi amicitiam fas sit habere tuam.

On his return from the continent he resumed in college the arduous and respectable employment of tuition, in which he had been engaged before he went abroad. In this capacity, besides those who were members of the foundation, he had under his care several young men of rank and fortune, and not less distinguished by their abilities. Mr. Lovibond, the admired author of the Tears of Old May Day, and of other elegant poems, was one of his pupils before he traveled; and after he came back Lord Bagot stood in the same relation to him; and at this time was laid the foundation of that entire friendship between them, which was interrupted only by that event which dissolves the dearest ties of mortality.

In 1746 his friend Mr. Wyatt resigned the vicarage of Hatfield Peverel in Essex; of which he informed



formed him by letter the same day, adding that "he thought he ought to make application for it to Mr. Dabbs," the patron; "whose friendship it might be well worth his while to cultivate."<sup>1</sup> But on the subject of soliciting for preferment his notions were more rigid than those of his worthy schoolmaster; and I believe he took no step whatsoever in consequence of the advice given with so much zeal and kindness. There was no reason however why an affectionate mother should not voluntarily ask a favour for her son; and the living was given him at her request; in which perhaps she was seconded by Mr. Wyatt, who was the first to acquaint him that it was conferred. He was instituted the 25th of August by that learned and excellent prelate, Bishop Gibson.

He had a high veneration for Mr. Wyatt, maintained a constant friendship with him while he lived, and wrote the following ode upon occasion of his death, January 1749:

O alma Virtus, læta capeßere  
Veros labores, qua patriæ datur  
Prodeßse, felicesque vitam  
Excoluiße licet per artes;

Te, Diva, sanctum confilium et tuum  
Præbente numen, sustinuit diu  
Crito juventutis togatæ  
Ingenuas animare mentes,

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Wyatt's Letter, May 6, 1746.



Amore magnæ laudis, et ingenî  
 Ciere lumen lumine de suo ;  
 Acerba donec mors ab auris  
 Æthereis rapuit magistrum.

Critona mœrent exanimem boni ;  
 Et ipsa Virtus mœret, et inclitus  
 Laudum, ille vivus quas amavit,  
 Quas coluit, chorus. Hæret urnæ

Affixa, mœsto non sine carmine,  
 Camœna ; fletu tum Pietas genam  
 Humeſtat ; et ſuſpirat altum  
 Pectus amicitiz fidele.

Nor was this the only or last instance of his regard for the memory of Mr. Wyatt. For a few years before he died, finding there was no sepulchral memorial of him, he put up a neat tablet in the church of Little Waltham, where he was interred, having been rector of the parish ; with an inscription that commemorates his “ learning, integrity, piety, and charity.”

In 1749 he was senior Proctor of the university ; and it is remembered of him that in performing the duties of that difficult office he so tempered salutary discipline with just lenity, and so recommended whatever he did by the manner of doing it, that he was universally esteemed and beloved. The Radcliffe Library was opened this year with a speech by the famed orator, Dr. King ; and the celebrity, graced with a large and splendid company of the friends of the university, was distinguished also by conferring honorary

honorary degrees on the Trustees of Dr. Radcliffe's benefaction. The speech delivered by the senior proctor, upon the expiration of his office, is usually a review of the events of the year; and Mr. Townson on that occasion, in an oration of classical elegance and spirit, speaking of the foregoing memorable occurrence, applauds the graceful eloquence of the orator, and mentions, with much satisfaction and merited praise, two of his friends who received at that time academical honours, Mr. Drake and Mr. Bagot, now Lord Bagot. He also bestows a passing compliment on the poetry professor, Mr. Lowth; which cannot in the present day add to his fame, but, since the life by which learning was advanced and religion adorned is now closed, it may safely be quoted: "*Quem de poetica sacra sic ex cathedra explicantem audivimus, ut omnibus ornari rebus videretur, quæ aut naturæ munera sunt, aut instrumenta doctrinæ.*" This is handsome certainly; but it should be noted as the more candid and honourable in the speaker, not only because Mr. Lowth and he were generally looked up to as the two first scholars in the university,\* a circumstance that in ordinary minds might have created some jealousy; but still more because there had been a design of bringing him forward as a competitor with

\* From the information of the late Rev. Mr. Homer, rector of Birdingbury, Warwickshire, one of Dr. Townson's first pupils, a person of strong sense, of amiable manners, and of general worth; who died greatly lamented July 14, 1791, having some time before drawn up a very just character of his revered friend and tutor: which see in *Gent. Mag.* 1792. p. 587, 588.

Mr. Lowth for the poetry professorship. Such competition however his modesty could not suffer; and the learned world will for ever be delighted and improved by the admirable *Prælections* on Hebrew poetry; a work, which if the correct judgement and taste of Mr. Townson could have equaled in point of manner and style, his more limited knowledge of the language that is the subject of it could not have supplied the matter.

This same year (1749) he resigned Hatfield; and was presented to the rectory of Blithfield, by Sir Walter Wagstaffe Bagot, Baronet. He was instituted August 29th, by Bishop Smalbrook. It was the custom of this bishop to examine the clergy who came to him for institution by solemn interrogatories, partly in English, partly in Latin, on theological subjects: and he was also commendably strict in enforcing the residence of his clergy. But Mr. Townson, who underwent the usual scrutiny, was for the present excused in the article of residence on account of the office he now held as proctor in the university.

Soon after he quitted the proctorship he was admitted (June 15) to the degree of Bachelor in Divinity; and the same summer Mr. Drake offered him the lower mediety of Malpas. This living, though of considerable value, he felt no small reluctance to accept, as it was so remote from his native county, and from most of his friends; and also because, being incompatible with his fellowship, it would entirely remove him from Oxford, a place which



which he loved with filial respect and affection. At length however, upon debating the matter seriously with a friend, who among other considerations suggested to him, that as to his fellowship, the relinquishing of which was a main difficulty with him, such a situation was not to be regarded as a settlement for life, but rather as a means to an end, qualifying the possessor for a sphere of greater activity and wider influence; on this view, he determined with God's blessing not to refuse what was so handsomely tendered. He was instituted by Bishop Pepploe, January 2, 1751. At the close of the year (December 19) he quitted Oxford, and resigned his fellowship the month following. It was afterwards matter of much satisfaction to him, as it was of sincere joy to the parish, that he did not agree to an exchange for Whitechapel in London, which was once (1756) proposed to him. He divided his time between Malpas and Blithfield, which he held for a few years with his new preferment; and then having resigned it, he inducted (February 23, 1759) his worthy successor the Reverend Walter Bagot, M. A. son of his esteemed friend and patron, who is the present rector (1792).

In 1758 a considerable accession of fortune came to him. The Reverend William Barcroft, M. A. rector of Fairsted and vicar of Kelvedon in Essex, was a friend of the family at Much Lees, and had a particular esteem and value for the eldest son. Mr. Barcroft had two sons; but both of them dying before him, he became the only surviving branch of the  
the



the family, of whom several had been clergymen, and educated as he was at Cambridge. He departed this life February 14, 1758, having bequeathed to Mr. Townson, whom he constituted the sole executor of his will,\* his library of books, and the principal part of his fortune, amounting in the whole to more than eight thousand pounds. On receiving this intelligence, he repaired to Kelvedon, and paid with all decency the last offices of respect to his very worthy and generous friend and benefactor.

The lower parsonage at Malpas, when he came into possession of it, was small and incommodious; and the house was separated from the garden by a farm yard and barns. He removed the barns (1760) and threw the site of them into the garden, thus connecting it with the dwelling-house, which he enlarged and altered, and rendered it a very pleasing, compact, and comfortable residence suitable to the living.

And now having established him at Malpas, his only preferment, and the seat of his constant residence, it will be proper to take a view of him in performing the important duties of his station; and for that purpose a short account of the parish appears requisite.

The parish of Malpas, Cheshire, consists of twenty four hamlets, or, as they are styled in that county

\* Prerog. Off. Hutton, 61.

palatine, townships; and is, in some directions, about ten miles long. There are two rectors to superintend this ample district; but when or on what occasion the partition originated is not known. It has subsisted more than five hundred years; and the portions, from the relative situation of the two parsonages, have, for more than half that length of time, been commonly called the upper and lower rectory or mediety. Advowsons are usually appendant on manors, the original lord of the soil reserving the right of presentation to the preferment which he himself founded; and for the same reason a parish and manor are commonly co-extensive. At Malpas Mr. Drake has three fourths of the manor, and also of the advowson, being possessed of the entire patronage of the lower rectory, and presenting to the upper alternately with Lord Cholmondeley; who has the title of Viscount from the town, as he has that of Earl from one of the townships in the parish where the family seat is. The two rectors have each of them a curate, with whose assistance they perform the duty alternately by weeks. There are two sermons on Sunday, prayers twice a week and on holidays, and every day in the week before the sacrament, which is administered the first Sunday in every month, and at the great festivals. There are two chapels, to one of which the rector or his curate who is not engaged in the parish church goes every Sunday, except on sacrament days, when they all assist at the mother church.—In the duties thus apportioned, Dr. Townson always took his full share, as well in the desk as the pulpit; and the service of

the church of England is no where performed with greater decency and solemnity, and rubrical exactness. Indeed from the number and order of its clergy, this large and lofty edifice has somewhat of the appearance and consequence of a collegiate church; and as the constitution is highly comfortable, and, in a moral view, advantageous to the ministers themselves, by exciting emulation and giving room for example; so is it, from the diversity of talents wherewith God may have blessed them, peculiarly useful and edifying to their hearers. The honest plainness and authority of one preacher rouses the torpid; the energetic pathos of another bears along with it the soul of sensibility; and the mild persuasive eloquence of a third, profitable to all, has its best effect and influence upon the virtuous and the good. This latter was universally the manner of Dr. Townson. In his looks there was meekness joined with intelligence; in his conversation gentleness, and yet authority; in his whole deportment condescension with dignity. When he read prayers in the congregation, there was a warmth and fervour in his manner that was at once awful and edifying: his utterance was never rapturous, it was never languid; and a service highly reasonable in itself, wherein human wisdom and evangelical devotion are so happily combined, appeared and was felt from his lips as more strikingly reasonable. When he ascended the pulpit, the same meekness of majesty attended him; every eye was fixed upon him, every ear listened with eagerness. His sermons were various in method and manner, as the subject required



quired or suggested ; but what was most peculiar and characteristic in him, were reflections easy and natural, but without the strict form of a studied discourse, on some portion of scripture, on some memorable event, or some distinguished personage, on a psalm, or a parable. A discourse thus constructed was not an abstract dissertation, remote from life and common apprehension ; but delineating real events and real characters, which by the observations and arguments of the preacher were brought home to present times, and rendered applicable to all ; instruction was thus united with and enforced by example : you saw misery as the sure consequence of sin in all ages ; you saw present tranquillity and everlasting peace, by the constitution of things and by divine promise, the attendants and rewards of obedience. When he spoke professedly on points of Christian doctrine, on the blessed sacraments, or the prime festivals, though the form and manner were less removed from the common track, his words, elevated and warmed with the superior grandeur of the subject, were, if possible, still more highly awful and impressive. All his sermons were distinguished by ingenuity ; in all there was strong sense conveyed in easy and familiar words ; in all of them piety and humility were prominent and conspicuous features. At the same time his elocution, which was clear and well modulated, and his gesture, which was graceful and easy, grave and correct, set off and adorned the matter : there was indeed, especially when time had shed a more venerable lustre on his countenance, the air and dignity of an apostle about him, tempered



pered only and softened by the recollection that he was a man of our own days; easy, unaffected, and affable in private, as he was powerful and commanding when he spoke as a minister of the gospel and ambassador of heaven. You would pledge your soul on his sincerity; you were sure he longed for nothing so fervently as your salvation. Your heart glowed within you; and you went home resolved to love God above all, and your neighbour as yourself.

He greatly admired, from full conviction of its excellence, the Common Prayer of the church of England. The spirit of devotion that pervades and animates it, the energy and simplicity of it, are incontestable; but it was his opinion that the prayers, compressed as they are in short collects, or couched in single petitions, were at once well adapted for the family or the closet, and incomparably the best for social and public worship. For though possibly an individual may with equal improvement use a longer form, the words of which he himself utters; yet when numbers join mentally in prayers spoken by one, their attention is less likely to grow weary, or to wander, when assisted by frequent pauses; by alternate petitions, responses, and ejaculations, as in the established liturgy.

Though he lamented the unhappy disputes and philosophical refinements on the scriptural simplicity, that had made it necessary to introduce so much technical phraseology not merely into works  
of

of theological speculation, but of practical devotion, yet he considered the Athanasian creed, where such terms abound, as a very fine composition; in which, with admirable judgement and accuracy, the direct path of evangelical truth is marked out, and, by a language clear and unequivocal, equally secured against opposite errors; against the Sabellian or Swedenbourgian hypothesis, which confounds the persons in the Godhead, and the Arian heresy, which divides the substance and unity of nature in the holy Trinity.

His attention extended to small matters as well as more important; and there being a difference in the mode of reading the introductory invocations of the Litany, where some persons lay stress on the pronoun (*us*), others on the preposition preceding (*upon*), the latter he esteemed the proper way of pronouncing the clause; since the Litany is not a prayer for the congregation exclusively, but, as the rubric explains it, "a general supplication" for all mankind.

He thought a certain decency and solemnity of form were of great use in giving life and effect to religious offices intrinsically excellent. "Order" indeed, in the judgement of the divine Hooker, is that "without which peace could not be in heaven;"<sup>1</sup> but it is fit that a religion intended for an inferior and compound being should be adapted to

<sup>1</sup> Walton's Life of him, *ad finem*.

his whole nature, and engage whatever is innocent in him on the side of virtue; so that while the sentiments have the concurrence of the understanding, and the spirit and energy warm the heart, the exterior circumstances may catch the imagination and influence the passions. Thus the whole man is employed in his best service, and every faculty conspires in paying homage to him who gave it. Such were his sentiments of whom we are speaking; and in addition to the regular order which he found at Malpas, he himself introduced one custom now observed there, that two of the clergy should officiate on Sundays at the altar. It appeared, he thought, decent and respectful that the Almighty should be well attended at his holy table.

When he had been rector of Malpas some time, a handsome pair of silver chalices were found in the church; and it was afterwards discovered, that he was the donor of them. They are inscribed with this verse: "All things come of thee, O Lord; and of thine own have we given thee." 1 Chron. xxix. 14.<sup>1</sup>

But it is time that we attend him in the conduct of his household, and the care of his flock. On the former head it may suffice to observe, that it was the house of a truly devout and christian pastor, who summoned all under his roof to morning and

<sup>1</sup> He also gave a chalice to the neighbouring church of Hart-hill, with the same inscription.



evening prayer; and the same sedate and holy fervour, that was so edifying in the church, never failed to animate these less public addresses to heaven. On Sunday evenings one hour was devoted to reading the holy Scriptures in his family with some practical comment;<sup>1</sup> and the instructive lesson began<sup>2</sup> and ended with prayer. At the same time it was a rule with him not to encroach on the duties of this day by writing letters, much less by the too common practice of traveling. It was always, within his walls, a day of peculiar hospitality and equal cheerfulness.

In visiting the sick, a duty to which he was scrupulously attentive, he sometimes availed himself of the liberty the Canons give,<sup>3</sup> and made apposite alterations in the prayers of the church, or adopted a prayer from a private manual. But in general he adhered strictly to the established forms; selecting, and commonly by memory, from the appointed office and from other parts of the liturgy, what he judged most suitable to the occasion. Pecuniary assistance, if necessary, was at the same time afforded with a liberal hand; and, as circumstances demanded, reproof also or consolation, or instruction, or encouragement was wisely administered at a season when the mind is usually most susceptible of good impressions. In some instances, if other means of

<sup>1</sup> Commonly Ostervald; in Passion week Bonnell's Harmony.

<sup>2</sup> Second collect in Advent.

<sup>3</sup> Canon lxvii.



access did not occur, or did not succeed, he privately wrote to persons living in known habits of vice. To imagine that any, or that all these methods of reclaiming from wickedness, with whatever wisdom chosen, or whatever vigour pursued, would in all cases produce the desired effect, were to suppose that men were not men; but much good undoubtedly, under the blessing of God, was thus accomplished; and even those, who were too perverse, or too hardened to be reformed by their spiritual guide, still however, such was his known probity, such his suavity of manners, and genuine piety, universally loved and revered him.

Besides distributing copies of the holy Scriptures and books of piety, which now and then were doubly endeared to the receiver by some affectionate inscription of the donor,\* he also took no small care that

\* A specimen perhaps may not be unacceptable :

“ A present  
to Mr. D. B.  
from one of those  
who promised for him at his baptism,  
that he should renounce the works of the devil,  
and the sinful lusts of the flesh;  
that he should believe all the articles of the Christian faith,  
and that he should walk in the commandments of God  
all the days of his life.

God grant that these promises  
may be faithfully and religiously kept,  
for the comfort of Him who made them,  
and the happiness of Him  
for whom they were made.”

children

children especially (of whom he generally kept several at school) should be taught and should use morning and evening prayer; and likewise that they should learn by heart that admirable compendium of Christian morality, the third chapter of the Epistle to the Colossians.

On a special occasion he composed and used the following prayer, by the desire of the sufferer:

“O almighty and everlasting God, whose blessed Son Jesus Christ did give to his apostles and other ministers of his word power over unclean spirits, Grant, O Lord, that if any evil spirits have afflicted this thy servant, they may be driven away from him, and be suffered no more to hurt or come near him. Hear, O Lord, our humble supplication in the name and through the mediation of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.”

The hypothesis on which this proceeds, he was well aware, though consonant to the sentiments of our best divines, is not the current opinion of the day. But what is unfashionable is not always false. It is thought by some to be in all cases a sufficient proof that nothing beyond natural disease has happened, because, when by medical aid bodily health has been restored, the mind is again perfectly free and tranquil. He esteemed this argument by no means satisfactory. There are persons who will converse with you coolly and rationally on any subject whatsoever, who yet have occasionally propositions

sitions darted into their mind (as they believe and express themselves), as distinct from their own train of thoughts, as if they were pronounced by another person. To allege that the body occasions these things is surely to assign an effect without a cause, or (which is the same thing) without an adequate cause; for it is not, I hope, the body that creates thoughts and forms propositions. To say, again, that the mind itself is the sole agent in the business, is to argue against the consciousness and conviction of that mind; for the person thus molested shall at the same instant be talking with you cheerfully on a subject totally different, shall be reading, or praying. If these momentary interruptions are seldom experienced but when the body is more or less indisposed, and cease when That has regained the full tone and vigour of health, this only shows that a disordered body was the predisposing occasion or organ, but does not prove it to have been the immediate or efficient cause. It will not be denied that there are malignant beings who watch every opportunity, and eagerly seize every permitted mode, of assaulting us; and where is the absurdity of supposing they may be able to harass us, when one part of the machine is disordered, in a different manner or degree, from what is in common cases possible, when the whole moves in perfect harmony? When a wicked monarch was troubled by a more wicked spirit, the melody of the harp composed and refreshed him, and he was well; and his foiled assailant departed from him,'—In what I have stated, I am

<sup>1</sup> 1 Sam. xvi. 23.

assured,



assured, I represent facts; and I know, as to the probable cause of those facts, I express His sentiments, whose opinions as well as actions, so far as it is material to record the one or the other, it is my duty to exhibit with all fidelity. We cannot pronounce with certainty what is merely natural disease, what demoniacal possession, and what the occasional molestation of the powers of darkness; for we have not, as one has justly remarked on the subject,<sup>1</sup> that miraculous gift, the discerning of spirits; but it is right surely to pray for deliverance from the more extraordinary degrees of temptation or trouble, as well as from those that are less uncommon, provided it be done with a condition expressed, that the case be what to us appears probable: and a better prayer for the purpose will not easily be devised than that which precedes and occasioned these remarks.

From parochial labours to literary pursuits the transition is easy and natural. About the year 1766, and for some time afterwards, he employed himself with much care and diligence in composing an exposition of the Apocalypse. The work was finished, but never published; and he once mentioned the circumstance to a very worthy friend as an instance of the success of prayer. It was his humble request to God, that if his system were wrong, the work might never see the light; and it so proved, that whenever he thought of revising his papers and pre-

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Newton in his Dissertation on the Demoniacs. See his works, vol. iii. p. 191.

paring them for the press, something still intervened and hindered his design. With regard to the interpretation of the unaccomplished prophecies in this awful book, he remarked, at a later period, having an eye to what he had written on the subject, "I once thought I had it all very clearly before me; but I now suspect we know very little of the matter." He was the more confirmed in this notion when he beheld that unforeseen and marvelous event, the total overthrow of the Gallic constitution; and he dropped a hint, a few days before his death, that if the papal power was to be destroyed by the sword, the French probably were the people who would accomplish its downfall. As to his comment on the Apocalypse, it was suffered to lie quiet in his study, with a direction to be burnt, which he never rescinded.

In the intervals of his application to this learned work, he found leisure to attend to the controversy of the Confessional, which then made some stir in the world. He published, on that occasion, three short pamphlets, but without his name; partly, no doubt, from his native modesty, and still more to avoid, as far as possible, dispute and altercation. The first is intitled, "Doubts concerning the authenticity of the last publication of the Confessional, and the current editions of certain books cited in it: addressed to the Author of that learned work." It is written, as might be conjectured from the title, in a strain of irony, and is a very masterly performance: in the course of which, he clearly though obliquely proves the

the charge implied in both its parts, showing the inconsistency of the author with himself in several instances, and the unfairness of his quotations in many more. Dr. Gloster Ridley, in his Letters to the Author of the Confessional, disclaiming any confederacy with the writer of the Doubts, or even knowledge of him, or so much as a guess who he was; adds, "You, however, and your friends, may do well to recollect, that the same genius to which we ascribe the *Batrachomyomachia*, could when he pleased write an *Iliad*."

The Doubts came out in November 1767; and in August 1768 he published "A Defence" of them, "in answer to Occasional Remarks, &c." In this piece he fully establishes all the controverted points against the Remarker, with exception only of a single mistake, where he lost his way in the labyrinth of a long note. To this circumstance, and to his being obliged to go over all his work again, the motto aptly alludes:

Rurſus perplexum iter omne revolvens  
Fallacis ſylvæ.                      ÆN. ix. 391.

In June 1768 he published, but for other book-sellers the better to conceal himself, "A Dialogue between Isaac Walton and Homologiftes; in which the character of Bishop Sanderson is defended against the Author of the Confessional." It is superfluous here to mention what the charges were which the

\* Poſtſcript to third Letter to the Author of the Confessional.



writer in question had brought against Bishop Sanderfon; and scarcely necessary to observe, that in the Dialogue he is fully vindicated in every instance where he had been attacked. The Confessional hath long since had its day; the name of Bishop Sanderfon will be dear to posterity while candour, piety, and learning are known and valued.

In September this year, at the earnest request of his friend and patron Mr. Drake, he went abroad with his eldest son, Mr. William Drake, a gentleman commoner of Brasen Nose College. The party was rendered more agreeable by the addition of a third, Henry Maxwell, Esq. a gentleman commoner of Christ Church, now of Ewshot, Hants. When they were met to set forth, he made one stipulation with his companions, that he should read the service of the church of England to them every Sunday; and it is but justice, as he remarked, to add, that they both very readily consented.

And now, while he is pursuing nearly the same tour with the Son, which, as we have seen above, he performed six and twenty years before in company with the Father, it may be proper, on account of some circumstances involved in the transaction, and others connected with it, to mention a person, who about this period became known to him, and was afterwards admitted into his intimate friendship and regard.

The writer of these memoirs was the younger son of one of Dr. Townson's parishioners, a yeoman.

At

At a proper age he was put to the grammar school in Malpas, with wishes, I believe, rather than any just hopes, of bringing him up for the church. It pleased God that both his parents died: but he continued at school; and his worthy master, the Rev. Mr. Evans, mentioned him to Dr. Townson, who made him presents of books, and frequently assisted and directed his studies. By Dr. Townson's recommendation he was entered at Brasen Nose in 1772; and the same generous hand contributed one half towards his academical expences. In 1778 he was chosen fellow of his college; and his kind friend and benefactor lived to congratulate him on being presented by that society, March 12, 1792, to the rectory of Middleton Cheney, in Northamptonshire.

Dr. Townson landed at Dover, October 12, 1769, after an absence of "one year and sixteen days, with his two virtuous and good young companions." The journal of his former tour, when he was fresh from Oxford and his classical studies, concludes with a Latin sentence, expressive of gratitude for safety and protection, to the God of all power and all goodness.\* The second journal ends thus: "Blessed be *his* good Providence who hath protected us during our journey, and brought us back in health and safety to the land of our Nativity!"

On his arrival at Malpas, he was welcomed with rejoicing, which it is equally impossible to describe

\* "Deo Opt. Max. gratiæ immortales, cujus providentia in patriam incolumes reversi sumus."

or forget. The whole parish crowded to see him; and every one that saw him blessed him. His own joy on the occasion, if more serene (as the poet pourtrays the passion, "*tacitum pertentant gaudia pectus*"), was not less heart-felt: for indeed he loved his flock with sincere affection; and, upon his return to them, applied himself with new ardour to his pastoral duties and theological studies.

Of these his studies one of the productions was the "Discourses on the four Gospels;" the progress of which we must now trace. The sermon that opens the subject "was in substance first preached in the parish church of Blithfield, when Sir Walter Bagot was one of his hearers." This probably was whilst he was rector of Blithfield; but certainly before the year 1768; for on the twentieth of January in that year, this excellent person, "beloved by all who knew him," "with the most edifying contentment and composure, and I may add, desire of the great change, resigned his pious soul into the hands of his God and Saviour." So he speaks of the solemn and affecting scene, at which he was present.

The discourse was laid by, as his manner was, till, the contents being in good measure forgotten, he could read and consider it with a degree of coolness and indifference. It was preached before the university, of which he still continued a member, June 2, 1771. His learned audience desired him to publish what they had heard with so much satisfaction. Such approbation induced him maturely to re-consider



re-consider the subject; and he threw into an appendix the proofs of certain points, which it had been necessary in the sermon to assume as granted. The matter grew upon him, till the work acquired its present form and size. Having submitted it, at different times, to the perusal and censure of some very learned and judicious friends; he at last, in compliance with their repeated solicitations, gave up the manuscript for publication. It came out in the spring of 1778: but even then, by his own good will, his name would not have appeared; which was given with his acquiescence rather than consent, by his worthy friend and brother in law, the Rev. Dr. Winchester, who superintended the publication.

I forbear to exhibit any abstract or analysis of a work that is in every one's hands; but it seemed neither uninteresting nor unimportant to give this short history of it; as it shows, what might indeed in part be collected from the book itself, with what caution and attentive patience he proceeded in the arduous province of scriptural criticism. What he aimed at, as he said very truly, was not the polishing of words and sentences, but to send forth his work as conformable to truth, on so sacred a subject, as his care and attention could lead him.\* With this view he neglected no aid that could be procured from any quarter, remote or near at hand, friendly or hostile; but he used to say, that if he was to write upon any question, he would rather read what

\* Letter to Mr. Loveday, Nov. 25, 1772.

had been written against it than for it. Some of the most shining passages in these Discourses, at least some that have most of novelty, and give full content to the reader, incidentally owe their origin to this circumstance. The admirable account of the superscription on the cross,<sup>1</sup> completely vindicating it from the objections of Middleton, may be adduced as one instance of this sort. And the reason assigned for the message to the disciples, Matth. xxviii. 7. 10, equally new and satisfactory, in the following Discourse on our Lord's Resurrection,<sup>2</sup> is another example of the same nature. Thus error defeats itself, and is made to advance the cause which it was designed to overturn.

Another remark, connected with the foregoing, and verified in his practice, was, that it was an useful method in treating a subject to put yourself in the situation of an opponent, and consider as far as possible all that might be objected to your hypothesis or your proofs. Hence the character given of Socrates, which Homer also, as that philosopher observed, ascribes to Ulysses, "that he was a *safe* speaker,"<sup>3</sup> may with great justice be applied to him. It would be difficult to name a work, abounding like this in variety of matter, that is so little liable to just exceptions,<sup>4</sup> and carries such full conviction

<sup>1</sup> Disc. vi. sect. ii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> P. 121—123.

<sup>3</sup> Xen. Mem. l. iv. vi. § 15. Vide Odyss. l. ix. 171.

<sup>4</sup> The Reviewers objected to the account of the Transfiguration (Disc. i. p. 8. 4to. ed. p. 10. 8vo.), thinking it improbable that the apostles should sleep, as it is there stated, during the display

to the mind of an impartial reader, on points where, from the very nature of the subject, probability in different degrees, not absolute certainty, must be the result of the inquiry.

As to himself, what afforded him principal content, in the course of his researches, and upon the final issue of them, was, to find that the internal evidence all along confirmed external testimony; that the Gospels were published in the same order in which they now stand; and that each of them was written with that special view and design, which the early fathers and the tradition of the church respectively assign to them.

display of such majesty and glory. But had they consulted the Gospels, or attended properly to the passage they criticised, they would have seen, that the only point for conjecture was, what might be the *cause* of their sleep; for that they did sleep some part of the time is an attested fact: Luke ix. 32. It appears, but is not generally observed, that our blessed Lord was on the mountain a whole night (Luke ix. 37.): but whether the transfiguration was in the day, or during the night, or partly in both, we are not informed. Our Lord went up into the mountain "to pray" (Luke ix. 28.); and I think in every instance recorded of his private prayer (of which sort was this with his three confidential disciples), where the time is mentioned or can be collected, it was by night. His prayer in the garden with these same three disciples (Matth. xxvi. 37, &c.) will instantly occur. See also Matth. xiv. 23—25. Mark i. 35. Luke vi. 12. So that in the literal sense it might be said, He "worked the work of him that sent him while it was day;" and took from "the night, when no man can work," hours of prayer for strength to perform it. John ix. 4.



Of the presents which he bestowed of this work, those to his two colleges were distinguished by notes inscribed in them "from the author," that merit preservation. One was, "for the library of St. Mary Magdalen College; in grateful remembrance of the advantages he received, and of the happiness he enjoyed, while a member of the college founded by the munificent and venerable William of Wainfleet: to which, as in duty bound, he devoutly wishes perpetual prosperity, temporal, literary, and religious." The other was, "for the library of Christ Church; in which college he had the happiness of beginning his academical studies; and to which he gratefully wishes perpetual prosperity, under a succession of Deans as worthy to preside as the present," —Dr. Bagot, the very learned and respectable bishop of St. Asaph (1793.)

The various letters which he received in consequence of this publication, though highly honourable to the author and the work, it would be tedious to mention. Perhaps, however, a single exception ought to be made. His friend, Bishop Lowth, to whom he gave a copy, after reading it through, delivers this opinion of it: "that it is a Capital Performance, and sets every part of the Subject it treats of in a more clear and convincing light, than it ever appeared in before."<sup>1</sup>

But he received testimony to the merit of his book, on which he set a higher value than on the com-

<sup>1</sup> Letter to the author, March 21, 1778.

commendation of any individual, however exalted in character, or dignified by station. This was the degree of Doctor in Divinity by diploma, which "was with perfect unanimity conferred on him,"<sup>1</sup> in full convocation, by the university of Oxford, February 23, 1779. His sense of this honour he expressed in the following letter to Dr. Horne, then Vice-Chancellor, afterwards the worthy bishop of Norwich :

"MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR,

Last post, March the 2d, I received the favour of your letter, in which you are so kind as to acquaint me that the degree of D. D. by diploma has been conferred on me by the Convocation.

No testimony can be given to any one's labours more valuable than the suffrage of the University of Oxford. But my pretensions are so far exceeded by

<sup>1</sup> The Vice-Chancellor's letter with the diploma ; which is in these terms :

"Cancellarius &c. Cum nihil nobis sit antiquius quam ut academix nostræ alumni pietatis et eruditionis omnium ubique judicio præcellentes a nobis etiam peculiari quadam honoris tesserâ insigniti publicam virtutum commendationem consequantur ; cumque vir reverendus Thomas Townson, S. T. B. Collegii Magdalensæ olim socius, largas ingenii et doctrinæ copias, quibus unice instructus est, in sacris literis explicandis feliciter intenderit, beatorum Evangelistarum scripta illustrando, singulorum mentem et consilia aperiendo, omnium fidem et harmoniam exponendo pia plaudentibus undique eruditis studia promoverit—Nos igitur" &c.

the honour which has been done me, I must consider this honour as designed by the University not to distinguish one, but to encourage all to the study of useful learning, and especially of the holy Scriptures, when they see how well-meant endeavours are rewarded in the first among the seats of literature.

Be pleased, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, to accept, and to testify to the Heads of Colleges and the Convocation, my most grateful acknowledgements, and to express for me my ardent wishes for the welfare and prosperity of the University; which, from my first admission into it, I have constantly loved and respected, and to which I have now motives of stronger attachment, if possible, than ever.

I am,

Mr. Vice-Chancellor,

With the highest regard,

Your and the University's

Most obliged,

And most obedient humble servant,

T. TOWNSON."

MARCH 5, 1779.

Bringing into one view the account of this work, we have passed by an event, that in point of time should have been introduced sooner. This was the death of his sister, Mrs. Winchester, January 20,

1772.



1772. This lady, strongly resembling her brother in countenance, was so like him also in the features of her mind and in all that is good, that an attempt to do justice to the merits of the one, ought not to be silent to the worth of the other; and I am happy that I can speak of her in words much better than my own. The late John Loveday, Esq. of Caversham, near Reading, and the Rev. Thomas Bagshaw, Chaplain of Bromley College, Kent, two highly esteemed friends of Dr. Townson, thus speak of Mrs. Winchester; the former in a letter on the occasion of her death, the latter in a sepulchral eulogium:

“ The Christian heroism of the deceased was beyond expression; so resigned, so much mistress of herself, so thoughtful for her friends, and so considerate upon what was proper to be done upon an event’s taking place, that her soul longed for. Be consoled, good Mr. Townson, she was ripe for heaven; a fairer character is not on earth: it is no small honour to have been *related* to her; some, (I would hope) to have been *acquainted* with her; but a condemnation not to have been the better for such acquaintance.”<sup>1</sup>

“ Skilled in all accomplishments for social intercourse, in all the liberal employments of domestic privacy, the delight of thy acquaintance, and comfort of the poor, what could enable thee so meekly to bear the reverse of these enjoyments, unactive sickness; to view death approaching without complaint or dismay;

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Dr. Townson, Feb. 1, 1772.

to sustain thyself so nobly in the last adieus to thy friends,  
and conquer for a time thy native meltingness of heart ;  
but an heavenly assistance,  
and unshaken hope in the merits of thy Redeemer ?”

The loss of such a person, deeply lamented by all who knew her, was peculiarly afflictive to her surviving husband. But his sorrow was the sorrow of a Christian ; and though he never spoke or thought of the deceased but with emotions of tenderness, resignation to the will of God gradually restored his native cheerfulness. After some years he was happy in a second marriage ; but earthly happiness is of short duration ! To the lasting regret of all who knew him, he was taken off by a paralytic stroke, May 17, 1780. He was the author of a Dissertation on the xviith Article of the Church of England ;<sup>\*</sup> in which, from the writings of those who compiled our Articles, it is clearly and unanswerably proved, that they were not Calvinists. No one was better qualified to do ~~this~~ than Dr. Winchester ; for no one was more accurately versed in the history of the Church of England ; no one was, from principle and conviction, more firmly and zealously attached to it ; and few have equally adorned it by the lustre of example. Let me be forgiven in paying this

<sup>\*</sup> The full title is, “ A Dissertation on the xviith Article of the Church of England : wherein the sentiments of the Compilers, and other contemporary Reformers, on the subject of the Divine Decrees, are fully deduced from their own writings. To which is subjoined, a short Tract, ascertaining the reign and time in which the Royal Declaration before the xxxix. Articles was first published. Oxford 1773.” 8vo.

slight tribute, not unconnected with the more immediate object of this narrative, to the memory of one, to whose generous friendship and instructive conversation I owe some of the happiest hours of my life.

The Discourses on the Gospels were scarcely published, when some cavils respecting one of the evangelists, and an attack made upon Mr. West's book on our Lord's Resurrection, put him on considering the part of the Gospels which relates to that subject; and he sketched out a harmony of them, which he "conceited" (to use his own modest expression on the occasion) was simpler and clearer than Mr. West's, and accorded better with the literal sense of the several evangelists, than that or any other which he had the opportunity of consulting. When he had his plan before him, it was quickly committed to paper; and quickly also deposited in his desk, to lie quietly by for a season. And there at present we must leave it; for this is the work that is to engage at intervals his best thought and pains for the remainder of his life.

The following little poem, composed about the same time that he was planning the harmony of the resurrection, may not unfitly be introduced here. It is a translation of the *Mundus Archetypus* of Boethius:<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Mr. Loveday, April 20, 1778.

<sup>2</sup> See Boethius *De Consol.* l. iii. metr. ix. *Delectus Epigramm.* l. vi. lxxxviii. Harris's *Hermes*, p. 312. 361. *Arrangement.* p. 277.

"O Thou



" O Thou, whose power and wisdom still uphold  
 This universe, which thou alone couldst mould,  
 Who, fixt thyself, bidst time from ages roll,  
 And motion be, and animate the whole ;  
 Urg'd by no outward causes to forsake  
 Thy blisful solitude, and worlds to make,  
 But pure adorable benevolence,  
 Good through full orbs of being to dispense ;  
 Thou from thyself this beauteous frame hast wrought,  
 The just resemblance of the fairest thought ;  
 Thou bidst the warring elements conspire,  
 Of water, earth, and air, and purer fire ;  
 And cold and hot, and moist and dry, contend  
 Harmonious, to promote the gen'ral end.  
 Raise, Father, raise to thee my mind, replete  
 With strength to ken the glories of thy seat ;  
 Light of the just and joy ! my clouded eye  
 Irradiate, and my earthly purify.  
 Wisdom from thee begins, in thee must rest ;  
 Our pilot, gale, and course, and haven blest."

In the summer of 1778, Dr. Porteus, bishop of  
 Chester, held his primary visitation in the cathedral  
 of his see ; and Dr. Townson, by his lordship's de-  
 sire, preached on the occasion. He was requested  
 by his diocesan to publish the sermon ; and the re-  
 quest of a lawful superior carrying with it, in his  
 construction, a positive duty, it was published, as he  
 expresses it, " in obedience to his lordship's com-  
 mand." Whether it were command or intreaty,  
 those who read the discourse, and " observe the many  
 marks of sagacity and judgement, which are inter-  
 spersed throughout it, will," no doubt, " think them-  
 selves obliged to his lordship, as he assured himself,  
 for following the writer up close, and not suffering  
 his

his modesty to stand in the way of public utility.”<sup>1</sup> By a similar act of violence, but without equal authority, those who had the care of the second edition of the work on the Gospels added this sermon to it, as being, in their judgement, a proper appendix; and one of them affixed, with the author’s approbation, the title it bears, “The manner of our Saviour’s teaching.”

Two years after this the Archdeaconry of Richmond became vacant by the death of Dr. Peploe; and the same worthy bishop offered it to Dr. Townson; or, to speak more exactly, he pressed him to accept it, with so much civil earnestness, when he was under his lordship’s own roof, that he could not refuse it. The following is the letter of thanks, which he wrote shortly afterwards:

“MY DEAR LORD,

Though the honour, which your Lordship has conferred upon me, was far from my thoughts and ambition, when I paid my last visit to the palace; yet I cannot but prize it highly as a mark of your esteem, and think of the very kind manner of bestowing it with great pleasure and gratitude.

If I hesitated to pass the line of a mere parish priest, no wonder that the zeal and abilities of my Diocesan in promoting the welfare of his diocese, made me doubtful of myself, whether I could an-

<sup>1</sup> Bishop of Chester’s letter to Dr. Townson, Jan. 8, 1779.

swer his reasonable expectations in the character of an archdeacon. My doubts still hang upon me, in part perhaps a constitutional infirmity; and the best antidote that I find against them is the encouragement which your lordship has given me to proceed." \* \* \*

Oâ. 26, 1781.

The archdeacon of Richmond has a stall in the cathedral at Chester, and his portion in the duties of it; but in other respects he has really no authority or charge belonging to him; for the bishop is himself, in effect, archdeacon both of Chester and Richmond; the endowments of which two archdeaconries constitute the principal revenue of the see. The bishop however, laudably solicitous for the good of his diocese, and "having perfect confidence in the abilities and circumspection"<sup>1</sup> of his archdeacon, gave him a special commission, April 25, 1782, to visit the five northern deaneries within the archdeaconry of Richmond, the most distant part of the diocese. The object of this visitation was to inspect and inquire into the state and condition of all the churches, chapels, and parsonage-houses; and to inquire also into the residence of the clergy on their respective benefices or cures. It was designed by his lordship as a prelude to his own intended visitation the following year; that, being previously certified of the condition and circumstances of those remote parts, if regulations were necessary, they might with better effect be supplied. In the execution of this

<sup>1</sup> Words of the Commission.

commission,



commission, he rode, by his own computation, being then almost seventy years of age, 572 miles; on which occasion, his intimate and much respected friend, the Rev. Rowland Chambre, rector of Thornton le Moors, voluntarily accompanied him, in the capacity of Secretary, as he pleasantly styled himself. From the information obtained in this journey, he composed a very elegant and methodical book or register; which exhibits a full and distinct view of each parish and chapelry, under the several heads pointed out for his examination. But of this, as being of a private nature for the use of the see, nothing further needs be said. One circumstance more generally interesting deserves to be known; and I give it in his own words: "The Queen's bounty has proved a great blessing to the northern part of this diocese. There were chapels endowed with not more than forty, and some with but twenty, shillings a year; in which, when any duty was done, it was performed by a layman, perhaps very illiterate. But by the help of the bounty, aided by some contributions, they are now able to support regularly ordained ministers, who are generally of irreproachable lives and characters; and not without a competent share of knowledge; and some of them are really learned, though few of them have seen an university. As they live in a cheap country, at a distance from the great world and its ambitious views, they appear contented and happy."

His sight, owing in great measure to intense study in the earlier part of life, was rather feeble, and

\* Letter to Mr. Loveday, Oct. 14, 1782.

would

would not always bear the fatigue of long application. On these occasions poetry was one of his amusements ; and it was probably in the autumn of this year that the following stanzas were produced. The subject and the measure seem to have been suggested by a translation of the same beautiful Greek ode, the first it is said that ever appeared in our language, which was inserted in the St. James's Chronicle, August 27, 1782. The poem has been translated into Latin by Grotius and others ; but perhaps never had more justice done it than here. The elegant poetess, we are told, died at the age of nineteen :

ERINNA'S ODE ON ROME.\*

Hail Rome, from mighty Mars by birth,  
Dread Queen, with crown of radiance pure !  
Whose seat Olympus is on earth,  
Sacred, secure.

The Fates consign to thee alone  
Fixt power, renown, and empire wide ;  
And bid thee, on exalted throne,  
Peerless preside.

Thou hold'st alone, with firm command,  
The reins of earth and hoary sea :  
The nations, guided by thy hand,  
Are safe in thee.

Time, that confounds the works and pride  
Of mortal life, still swells the sails,  
That bear thy rule along his tide  
With prosp'rous gales.

\* See the original in Poetiar. octo Fragm. Hamb. 1734. ed. Wolf. 4to. p. 14. Elegiaca Gr. ed. Chandler, Oxon. 1759, p. 84.

Thy stem the first of warriors yields :

The first of men thy sons arise,

Thick, as her fruits in golden fields,

Glad Ceres eyes,

The next year he received the following letter, which requires no introductory comment :

“ Lower Grosvenor Street,  
Aug. 11, 1783.

SIR,

Although I recollect our former acquaintance with great pleasure, it is not on account of that acquaintance, nor of your long and intimate connexion with those whom I shall ever love and esteem, that I trouble you with this letter. Upon the death of Doctor Wheeler, the King commanded me to look out for a proper successor ; by which words his Majesty understood some person confessedly well-qualified for the Divinity Chair, whose promotion should be acceptable to the Public at large, and, particularly, to the University of Oxford. I have since endeavoured to execute his Majesty's commands, and, after the most minute inquiries, I can not find any person in the kingdom who corresponds so exactly to his Majesty's definition of a Divinity Professor, as Dr. Townson ; a gentleman, whose character is universally beloved and esteemed, and whose general learning, and particular knowledge in Theology has been acknowledged in the most distinguished manner by the University, where the Professorship is now vacant.



vacant. You will, therefore, I hope, give me an opportunity of acquiring credit to myself, of promoting theological knowledge, and of giving satisfaction to the Public and to his Majesty, by accepting a situation, which by the public testimony of the University of Oxford, and by the general consent of all who are acquainted with you, you are the properest person in England to fill. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,

Sir,

Your most faithful,

Humble servant,

N O R T H."

He returned the following answer :

" Malpas, Cheshire, Aug. 16. 1783.

MY LORD,

It is hardly possible for me to express the sense I have of your Lordship's goodness to me, and of the honour your Lordship has done me, in thinking of me for the vacant divinity professorship. But I am now so far in the decline of life, that I am very apprehensive, or rather satisfied, that I am not equal to the exertions, which a faithful discharge of the duties of that office would require. Regard therefore for your Lordship's credit, and the good of the university, both which I am highly bound to consult, as well as the peace of my own mind, lays me under a necessity of intreating your Lordship, that, with  
that

that goodness, with which you have offered me this preferment, your Lordship will permit me to decline it.

It is a most pleasing consideration to me, that a Place which I have the strongest reasons to value and esteem, is under the protection of a nobleman so studious, as well as able, to promote its welfare, and to second His Majesty's royal care for his University, as a seat of religion and literature. I hope and trust it can without difficulty supply a person more in the vigour of his age, and every way qualified to answer His Majesty's and your Lordship's expectations in this charge and dignity.

Lord Bagot has promised to call here in a day or two, on his way into Wales. But I could not think of delaying a moment to make my acknowledgements to your Lordship. Nor indeed did I wish to have any personal conference with Him, till the matter was decided. I am already sufficiently dis-

\* From this passage, and an allusion in the preceding letter, I had some doubts whether Lord Bagot might not, without Dr. Townson's knowledge, have applied to his friend the Prime Minister on this occasion. But in answer to my inquiries on that head, I am favoured by his Lordship with the following account, which it would be injustice to all parties to withhold from the reader: "I think it will be for the credit of my dear friend the late Earl of Guilford, to recollect, as far as my memory will serve me, and mention to you, all the circumstances I know relative to the Divinity Professorship. Lord Guilford was at Oxford at the same time I was, and at that time became first acquainted with Dr. Townson. He has met him since more than once here, and after he became Prime Minister: and always had

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the

## ACCOUNT OF

treffed with the thought that I must thus answer an offer made me in such a manner, and in such terms; happy only in this, that your Lordship retains a remembrance of our former acquaintance, and is pleased to notice it.

I am, my Lord,

With the utmost gratitude and respect,

Your Lordship's most obliged,

And faithful humble servant,

T. TOWNSON."

the regard for him that his Goodness and Abilities so highly deserved. I may, for aught I know, have said frequently in Lord Guilford's hearing, that I wished to see Dr. Townson upon the Bench; but I am very certain I never applied for any specific preferment for him; and so far from having written in his behalf on this occasion, the first knowledge I had of the Professorship being vacant was from the Doctor himself, to inform me of all that had passed betwixt him and the Minister, and that he had absolutely refused to accept it: that the reason of his not having given me earlier intelligence of the business, was, the fear of my being urgent with him to accept so great and honourable an offer, and that he had taken his resolution. I mention this thus fully, as I think it equally creditable to them both. The Doctor was indebted purely to his own merit for the offer, and I know how happy the Earl of Guilford was in having an opportunity of making it, and how desirous that it should have been accepted. From the moment he became Chancellor of Oxford, I verily believe his sole object was to prefer in the University the best men, and such as were most likely to be the ablest defenders of the Church of England, of which he himself, to his dying day, was a most sincere friend, and most powerful support, in times when such support was most wanted. \* \* \*

BAGOT."

BLITHFIELD, Jan. 30, 1793.

Such



Such was his unaffected diffidence, and so great his deference to those he conversed with, that his friend Mr. Falconer, an acute observer of character, in an early stage of their acquaintance used to remark, "the only way to get at Dr. Townson's sentiments on any subject, is to state your own sense of the matter first; and then, prefacing his words with 'what you say is very ingenious; perhaps I am wrong; but I used to view the point in such a light;' he will give an opinion which is so much better, that your's vanishes in a moment." It is certain, he never obtruded his notions upon any one; and whenever he saw occasion to give advice, especially if it were respecting forms and circumstances and the minute but pleasing decencies of life, it was much oftener done by a hint or allusion, or some apposite anecdote (of which no one had greater store, or introduced them with happier propriety), than by direct recommendation of what he approved, or positive censure of petty enormities. There were, however, persons and times when even with regard to these minor virtues, the decorums rather than the duties of life, watching the *mollia fandi tempora*, of which he was an admirable judge, he declared himself without any restraint or reserve. A single instance will show his manner. We were walking, as we often did, in his room, and conversing freely together, when he stopped short, and raising himself up (for his head generally inclined a little forwards), he said with a smile of ineffable sweetness, "Are you in high good humour?" "Tolerably so, I hope." "Then I'll tell you of a little fault

fault you committed in the company where we have just been." "Was it speaking of a certain person with severity?" "No; I had not observed that; but you did so and so." They must be adamant who are not benefited by such reproof.

The attention of the reading and literary world, about this time (1783, &c.), was occupied by the controversy between Dr. Priestley and the Archdeacon of St. Alban's. Dr. Townson sent to the Archdeacon some remarks on his opponent's letters; to which he prefixed the following note, but, with his usual modesty, concealing his name:

"These few strictures on Dr. Priestley's letters are transmitted to Dr. Horsley, not to inform him of any thing he did not know, or what could otherwise escape him, but merely to take an opportunity, which the writer of them has long wished for, of returning his sincerest thanks to Dr. Horsley, for his excellent charge: which he and many others have read with infinite satisfaction.

They join in hoping, that the Doctor, though he has to deal with one, *cui non persuadebis etiamsi persuaseris*, yet, for the sake of the Christian church in general, will again exert the abilities and learning with which he is blest, in contending for the faith, which was once delivered unto the saints."

March 2, 1784.

These strictures were printed in the Appendix of Dr. Horsley's Letters to Dr. Priestley, published in

1784,

1784, but unfortunately with one or two typographical mistakes that affect the sense. It may be proper therefore here to correct them.\*

Of his classical criticisms, which sometimes enriched the Gentleman's Magazine,<sup>2</sup> and more frequently adorned his correspondence, or illumined his conversation with his learned friends, I shall submit one example to the judgement of the intelligent reader, as it regards an interesting passage :

"There is an epigram of Martial, which, as critics in general allow, relates to the Christians. It alludes to the persecution in which the humanity of Nero, to speak of him in Mr. Gibbon's words,

\* App. No. iii. p. 184. l. 21. read "might St. Matthew ask." p. 185. l. 2. read "consist well, on Dr. P.'s plan, with what." Ib. l. 6. read "alios ita loquentes." Correct the same mistakes in the Bishop of St. David's "Tracts," &c. Gloucester, 1789. p. 304. lines 3. 20. 23, 24.

<sup>2</sup> The following papers, and perhaps a few others, in the Gent. Mag. are by Dr. Townson : 1771. p. 20. Parallel between the Author of the Confessional and a patriotic Alderman, (where, col. i. read, "In the cause of these, two heroes have taken the field.") 1775. p. 361—363. On Brydone's Account of *Ætna*. 1776. p. 111. Doctrines and Ceremonies different things. p. 170. On Dr. Price's Civil Liberty. 1778. p. 124, 125. On Matth. xxviii. 5. p. 171, 172. On the same. 1783. p. 412. Introduction to the Account of Mr. Naylor's Apparition. 1785. p. 284. Defence of Virgil, against Mr. Heron. 1789. p. 216. Pascal and Priestley contrasted. p. 884. Query about the meaning of *Idem*, which some one, not perceiving the writer's humour, answered gravely, p. 1099.



caused them to be wrapt in pitched tunics or shirts, and burnt by way of torches. The epigram is this :

In matutina nuper spectatus arena

Mucius, imposuit qui sua membra focis ;

Si patiens fortisque tibi durusque videtur,

Abderitanæ pectora plebis habes.

Nam cum dicatur, tunica præsentē molesta,

Ure manum ; plus est dicere, Non facio.\*

Having read this epigram more than once without being able to construe the two last lines, though the drift of them is intelligible, I consulted Dr. Lardner's Collection of Testimonies, where I found it thus translated, vol. i. p. 355 : ' You have, perhaps, lately seen acted in the theatre Mucius, who thrust his hand into the fire. If you think such an one patient, valiant, stout, you are a mere senseless doctard. For it is a much greater thing, when threatened with the troublesome coat, to say, I do not sacrifice, than to obey the command, burn the hand.'

The Doctor, not quite satisfied with his version of the conclusion, which indeed is rather a paraphrase, gives another: ' For it is a much greater thing, when threatened with the troublesome coat, you are commanded to burn your hand, to say, I will not.' This is more literal, but does not remove the difficulty ; for the alternative proposed to the Christian, was not, Either burn your hand, or burn in this shirt ;

\* Lib. x. xxv. Delect. Epigr. l. iv. lviii. Conf. l. viii. xxx. l. i. xxii. Delect. Epigr. l. iv. xxiv. l. i. xiii.

but,

but, Either burn some incense, to the statue of the Emperor perhaps, or burn in this shirt.

In spite therefore of all the editions of Martial that I have seen, I have no doubt that he wrote, instead of 'Ure manum,' as we now read, 'Ure manu,' Ure aliquid thuris manu, and escape this dreadful punishment. According to which the words may be rendered, 'When you are told, the pitched shirt being placed before you, you must either burn in this shirt, or offer a little incense with your own hand, it is a greater instance of fortitude to say, I will not do it, than even to burn off that hand.'

The last words, 'Non facio,' are not easily translated. They mean not only, I will not do it, but, I will not sacrifice. For so Facio sometimes signifies; as in Virgil:

*Cum faciam vitula pro frugibus. ECL. iii. 77."*

But criticisms on the sacred text better suit the occasion and object of these pages; and I shall therefore bring forward a larger selection of them; yet, with one obvious but necessary caution. Of the remarks to be produced, some were submitted to the absolute discretion and use of the persons to whom they were given; but none of them, doubtless, were designed by the writer to meet the public eye in their present shape, short and detached as they are; neither had he weighed them, probably, with all that care, which he employed on sacred subjects before he ventured to print his thoughts. The reader there-

fore will estimate these fragments by their own evidence and probability. Sir Isaac Newton subjoined to one of his great works certain speculations in the form of queries; which are regarded by philosophers as highly curious and valuable, although his vast mind was not fully contented with them. In a modest distrust of himself, in laborious investigation, and patient thinking, Dr. Townson resembled the immortal Newton; and if these brief disquisitions did not always receive his full consideration and entire acquiescence, they will yet, many of them, no doubt, be found perfectly just, and all of them worthy of attention. With this apology and caution I proceed; and shall dispose the papers not in chronological sequence as they were written, but, as seems more convenient, in the order of the Scriptures to which they refer.

### ISAIAH.

“At this season (Advent), the course of the lessons has disposed me to read Bishop Lowth’s Isaiah again. The more I consider it, the more it strikes me as a noble work.<sup>1</sup> The version and illustration of

<sup>1</sup> I have reserved for this place what he had before said respecting this work, in a letter to the author, dated Nov. 27, 1778.

“MY LORD,

The book which your Lordship has been so kind as to send me, is a return indeed for such a performance as mine (see above, p. xxxvi). I have just had time to go once over it; and have read it with infinite satisfaction: both because I can comprehend the meaning and spirit of Isaiah much better than before; and because



chapter xlix. I admire particularly. I send you a little criticism, which is not worth returning. When you have read it, you may throw it into the fire. The bishop on *Isaiah vii. 15.* adopts his learned friend Dr. Jubb's interpretation:

'Butter and honey shall he eat When he shall know to refuse what is evil, and choose what is good.'

cause it is a work, as far as I can judge, altogether worthy of its Author's character and writings. To find out, and to prove, that the prophets wrote in verse, and to show the important uses of this discovery, was reserved for your Lordship. This is a subject,

'Unde prius nulli velarunt tempora musæ.'

Literal as the translation is, there is not only great energy and elegance, but to my ear great harmony in it. The prophecy concerning Babylon, I am persuaded, has never had such justice done it as by your Lordship's hand, in a noble Latin ode, and by admirable observations now given upon it. But this is a single instance out of a multitude of passages explained in a masterly manner, and beautifully illustrated. To my grateful acknowledgements for this little-deserved favour, let me have leave to add my devout wishes, that it may please God to support your Lordship with his consolations under the heavy loss of an excellent Son; and to bless you with a continuance of health and spirits, for the credit and benefit of our Church, and the furtherance of His religion.

I am, my Lord,

With the greatest respect,

Your Lordship's most obliged,

And faithful humble servant,

T. TOWNSON."

But

But it may be questioned whether the Bishop's father had not given as good a version, the same as Bishop Chandler's:

‘ Butter and honey shall he eat Till he shall know, &c.’

Dr. Jubb thinks Till makes ver. 15. incoherent and inconsistent with ver. 16; which I confess I do not see, as Mr. Lowth and Bishop Chandler state the matter to this purport:

‘ The distress brought upon the land by its invaders shall not be so great, nor so durable, but that the child shall have sufficient plenty of the delicacies usually given to children: For (the prophet adds) before he shall be out of his childhood, both the invaders of the land shall be destroyed.’

And this appears to suit best with the drift of the prophecy, which is to promise speedy relief, before the child arrived at a certain state of knowledge (Comp. viii. 4.); not a long continuance of security, When, or, After he arrived at that state. For the prophet having assured the people of Judah, that God would deliver them from the danger then hanging over them, assures them of no more; but changes his style instantly, ver. 17, to denunciations of heavy judgements that would overtake them for their sins, by means of more powerful invaders.

I have said this on a supposition that ו must signify For. But Stockius in his Lexicon, referring to this

this very place, renders it *Quinimo*: and the Bishop translates it *Yea*, xv. 5. and *Yea verily*, xxviii.

11.

And possibly this sense might agree very well with the place before us.”

He afterwards (June 4, 1781) remarked to the same correspondent, that Mr. Postlethwaite, in his Discourse on this passage, was pretty severe on Bishop Lowth; “but (he added) in my humble opinion, Mr. Lowth’s version, ‘Until he shall know,’ is preferable to either; for this intimating, that the Virgin’s infant son should be nourished and fed as other infants were, carries on the prediction more explicitly, that Immanuel should really take our nature upon him. In other respects, I cannot but think that Mr. Postlethwaite has maintained the clearest and most satisfactory explication of this important passage. *A child* instead of *The child* is the sense of Stockius. *Puer aliquis*. See under the letter *He*, p. 244.”

#### GENEALOGY OF OUR LORD.

“As to the genealogy of our blessed Lord, I have, I confess, never studied the matter accurately, nor can at present turn my mind to the subject. I can only give you a few loose hints on it, that perhaps may be but of little consequence.

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Mr. Loveday, Dec. 22, 1780.



The genealogy seems a transcript from some public record to the end of ver. 16, delivered to St. Matthew, and not drawn up by himself; for in his own person he would not have concluded this part with saying, 'Of whom was born Jesus, who is called Christ.' What follows, I presume, is his own. But you observe he only says of the first fourteen, that they are *all*. Some hints are given, Discourses, p. 121, 8vo. about the reason of this division, but whether worth consulting I know not; nor can I pretend to give a just account of it. Three times fourteen, you know, make the mystical number of forty-two, occurring in the Revelation; but if there is a mystery in the number in St. Matthew, I do not presume to dive into it. Reasons have been given for the omission of three kings, that appear to me rather refined than satisfactory.

If St. Luke gives the natural, and St. Matthew the civil or political, if I may so call it, genealogy of our Lord, I believe it is not without example in profane history. I think Mr. Falconer has told me, that the pedigree of Leonidas the Spartan differs in Herodotus and Pausanias, without mistake in either; the first giving his real descent, the other the line of kings that preceded him.

Whatever comparison David Levi may make between the miracles of Moses and Christ, there is, if I mistake not, this remarkable difference between them, that Moses acts in every instance by special command, and as a mere instrument of the Almighty,

mighty, and does not take upon him to say with authority, 'I will, be thou clean;' 'Damsel, I say unto thee, arise,' &c.

However splendid some of the miracles of Moses were, can any of them be compared to that of Christ raising himself from the dead? It seems providentially ordered to keep one character in due subordination to the other, that it should be recorded of Moses, that he died and was buried. The resurrection was a necessary miracle, not for the benefit of one nation, but of all mankind."<sup>1</sup>

"You seem to approve the remark that I sent you on ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός. It appears obvious enough; and yet I am as much at a loss as you are, to say who had ever made it. What are the Jew's objections to the two genealogies I know not. But if he objects to misnomers, this may very easily be retorted on a Jew. There are such in the Old Testament, which we cannot account for by supposing the same person to have had two names. 2 Chron. xxi. 12. Elijah is made to write a letter to king Jehoram several years after his assumption to heaven. The letter must have been written by Elisha, as Dr. Kennicott observes, *reclamantibus omnibus manuscriptis*. Jeremiah xxvii. 1. is dated in the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim, which should have been Zedekiah, as appears from ver. 3. Levi will say, and, I doubt not, say true, that these were not the faults

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Mr. Churton, October 27, 1788.

of the original writers, but of their copyists. But if he requires this allowance to be made him with regard to the Old Testament, can he reasonably refuse it to us with respect to the New, if any passage of it should require it; which I do not know to be the case. As to the name of Cainan in St. Luke's genealogy, and in the Septuagint, but not in the Hebrew, whether it ought or ought not to stand, I leave to be settled between you and archdeacon Yardley; and have for this time done with the subject."

Shortly afterwards he wrote what follows to a common friend:

"Mr. Churton tells me that he has showed you what I said to him about our Saviour's genealogy. It could not be much; for I had never much considered the subject. But while I was lately thinking of it, a point occurred to me; my thoughts on which I shall transmit to you, Mr. Churton being absent from Oxford.

The point is, What was Solomon's right to the throne of Israel; in which, if his line failed, was involved the right of Nathan, his next brother; from whom, I think it evident, Christ by the blessed Virgin was descended.

It will be said perhaps, that the appointment of David his father was a sufficient title. It might be

\* Letter to Mr. Churton, Dec. 5, 1788.



so; but I think this appointment was not arbitrary, but founded on a law of custom, prevalent in some nations; how far over those eastern parts in general, I will not pretend to say. But possibly the designation of Solomon to the crown, as proper heir of it, is intimated 2 Sam. xii. 24, 25. He was in the state of those, who, if I mistake not, were called in the Greek empire *παρφυρογεννηται*, that is, he was born after his father became king; king, I mean, of all Israel: of these he was the eldest, and as such might be considered as intitled to succeed to the crown, in preference to any elder brother born before the father was invested with this royal mantle. This was the rule at Sparta; as Demaratus, one of its exiled kings, urged to Darius in favour of Xerxes' title to the Persian empire, before his elder brother Artabanes, who was born while Darius was yet a subject: Herodotus, b. vii. ch. iii. The same rule, as Baron de Tott tells us, is observed among the Turks. He who is to succeed the reigning Grand Seignior, must be one that was born after his father's advancement to the throne. It may be that the same consideration determined Abner and the Israelites to anoint Ishboseth king, rather than Mephibosheth, the son of Jonathan, whose father was never other than a subject; whereas Ishboseth was born in the year in which Saul his father was made king. Compare 2 Sam. ii. 10. with Acts xiii. 21.

Now whether Joseph descended from Solomon, or, as seems probable, his line having failed, from Nathan, the next royal heir of the house of David; the

the adopted son of Joseph, and the real son of Mary, who, I doubt not, sprang from Nathan, was by legal right, as well as divine appointment, King of Israel, if the matter is here rightly stated: which may have been so stated by others; though I know not that it has. I only observe further, that divine Providence guarded this royal line by its depression against Herod's jealousy, and gave another direction to it by the elevation of another of the Asamonean family.

Further this deponent sayeth not about the genealogy of Christ; but was disposed to commit these thoughts to paper, such as they are, while they were fresh in his memory, and to submit them to his esteemed friend at Williamscot.

P. S. I suppose the sons of David by Bathsheba are mentioned 1 Chron. iii. 5. exactly in an inverted order.”<sup>1</sup>

In reference to the foregoing letter, he said afterwards,

“ I acknowledge that Solomon had a divine appointment to the crown of Israel; for this is evident from 1 Chron. xxviii. 5. I only meant to prove, that Heaven so ordered, that the appointment should have the concurrence of a custom of royal succession, that was allowed by the people to give an equitable claim of preference. So Saul, though anointed, as God had commanded, by Samuel, was chosen king by

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Jan. 3, 1789, to John Loveday, LL. D. of Williamscot, near Banbury, late of Doctors Commons.

the people agreeing to refer the decision of the matter to lot. (1 Sam. 10.) And David, though anointed in like manner, became king of ten of the tribes by their own free assent to his title. 2 Sam. v. 1-3. If this was not so, I see not how the right of succession, on the failure of Solomon's line, could descend to the stem of his next brother Nathan: for which there is no special appointment of Heaven upon record, that I am aware of. The right, as far as appears, was a certain human right; and this therefore founded on a custom of succession, which had coincided in Solomon with the divine ordinance: unless you will suppose that the posterity of David's sons older than Solomon was at an end, which may be true, but I presume cannot be ascertained; and for that reason I was for establishing the claim of Nathan's family (from whom it is probable both Joseph and Mary descended) on other grounds."

In conversation on this subject he remarked, that "there was no promise of the Messiah made to Solomon, which affords a presumption that his line failed, and that of Nathan succeeded." To this we may add, that the continuance of Nathan's branch, even after the coming of Christ, seems to be implied in a passage of Zechariah, xii. 12.

## MARK XII. 27-31.

"L.L. D. has before sent puzzling questions to D.D. but, as some perhaps will think, none more

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Mr. Churton, Jan. 26, 1789.



so than this *on the doctrine of the articles*. D. D. will not take upon him to deny, that the use of the prepositive article in Greek may sometimes be a matter of indifference, and the sense the same with or without it; as it seems to be in English whether we say, One of them, or, The one of them, whose name was Cleopas. Luke xxiv. 18.

Yet he sees, or imagines he sees, generally a reason why the article is prefixed or omitted.

In Mark xii. 27. the reading varies; but let us take it as we commonly find it, only construe the words as they stand in St. Matthew xxii. 32. *xx 1514*

He states this a little more explicitly in another place, thus: "In modern languages where a prepositive article is used, there are instances where it may be indifferent; there are others where it is regulated by the position of the words."

(1) Indifferent: We may ask, who is owner of this house? or, Who is *the* owner of this house? In many instances we may say, *The* Thames, or simply, Thames.

(2) Regulated by position of the words: We say, The king's prerogative; but, *The* prerogative of the king. Were we enumerating the princes of Europe, we should say, in one form or order of words, George is king of Great Britain; Lewis is king of France, &c. but in another order, *The* king of Great Britain is George; *The* king of France is Lewis. One whose native language was Latin, and who would say, Rex Britanniae Georgius est, might think, if he understood our language only as a learned language, that the article *The* has no meaning in it, since it is used or omitted in expressing the very same thing. To an English ear the matter appears otherwise. And so we may conclude it did in many cases to a native Greek, where the difference does not appear to us."

ὁ Θεός, Θεός νεκρῶν, ἀλλὰ ζωντῶν. The article, justly prefixed to Θεός, signifying the one God, seems justly omitted in the second instance, where Θεός is taken in a sort of distributive sense: ‘God is not *a* God of the dead, but of the living;’ not such a God as would intitle himself God of his departed servants, if he had suffered them to sink into non-existence. See our version, Luke xx. 38.

In what follows, 28—31, are various things to be considered. In ver. 29, 30. the quotation from Deuteronomy vi. 4, 5. is according to the Septuagint; which seems rightly to have dropt the article before Κυριος answering to Jehovah: ‘Jehovah our God is one Jehovah.’ Comp. Matth. iv. 7. 10.

It may be harder to account for the omission of the article before some other words in this passage; and to do it, we must go perhaps a little out of the road of common interpretation.

What then, if we suppose the Scribe’s notion to have been, that among the precepts of the law there might be a first class of coequal precepts; and that he only wanted to have a precept named to him, which belonged to this class? ‘Of all the precepts of the law, which is *a* first, or, as it is expressed in St. Matthew, *a* great precept?’

If this was the drift of the Scribe’s question, our Lord answered it fully, by calling the love of God, not *the* first and great, but *a* first and great commandment,

mandment, and the love of our neighbour a second like unto it.

Nevertheless having answered the question as proposed to him, he then, to show the supereminence of these two commandments, added, *ex abundante*, 'On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.'

The omission of the article before *πρωτη, μεγαλη, δευτερα*, both in stating and resolving the question, is observable; and, occurring in both the evangelists uniformly, gives some countenance to the supposition here made concerning the nature of the question.

If L.L. D. is not satisfied with this response to his maskals and enigmas, he will be so good as to remember, that D. D. is neither the Solomon of the Jews, nor the Œdipus of the Greeks,"\*

He bestowed much pains on this subject, and composed tables with short strictures on the article as prefixed or omitted before *Κυριος*, and *Θεος*, and *Ιησους*. The result seems to be, that, in a great plurality of places in the New Testament, where *Κυριος* answers to Jehovah in the Old Testament, it is without the prepositive article; and that the passages in which it answers to Jehovah of the Old Testament, and yet has the article prefixed, are most of them peculiarly circumstanced, as quotations from the Septuagint,

\* Letter to Dr. Loveday, April, 1783.



or the like : that “ the article before Θεός is intensive ;<sup>1</sup> but before Κύριος seems otherwise in the language of the New Testament, and when Christ is the subject, often distinctive. See Acts xi. 20, 21.”<sup>2</sup>

That where Κύριος Ἰησους or Χριστός Ἰησους Κύριος occur without the article, the places “ seem to be expressed with solemnity, as confessions of faith : as Rom. x. 9. 2 Cor. iv. 5. 1 Cor. xii. 3. Phil. ii. 11.” And that, “ the evangelists prefix the article to the name of Jesus, except in the following cases : 1. Where it is accompanied with some adjunct to distinguish it. 2. When ὅτι immediately precedes. 3. When ἀπε-κρίθη immediately precedes. 4. When δε or εν immediately follows.”

## M A R K XIV. 51, 52.

He dropped a hint in conversation that “ a certain young man ” here mentioned “ was probably the evangelist himself, roused from his bed by the noise of those who led Christ, and running into the street to see what it was.” If this conjecture be admitted, as apparently it may, it is obvious that St. Mark could from his own knowledge vouch for this part of

<sup>1</sup> In virtue of this principle he puts an ingenious question : “ John ix. 16. The Pharisees say, ὅτις ὁ ἀνθρώπος ἐκ ἐστὶ παρὰ τὸ Θεόν. The blind man says, ver. 33. εἰ μὴ ἢ ὅτις παρὰ Θεοῦ, ἐκ ἡδυνάτο ποιεῖν ἑαυτὸν. Was the article used in one place, and not in the other, to intimate, that the Pharisees were bolder in denying Christ’s mission from God, than the poor blind man in asserting it ? ”

<sup>2</sup> So he remarks on James v. 14. that “ the article seems to be used there to mark that the anointing was to be performed in the name of Christ.”

the narrative, to those of his first readers, who might wish to hear him tell of an event so highly interesting and momentous. And thus a circumstance, at first sight not very material in the awful history, has its weight and consequence. But it is my business to relate, rather than to criticise.

# JOHN XIX. 10, 11.

“Before I release you, I must trouble you with one more observation. John xix. 10, 11. has always appeared to me a difficult passage. I was lately speaking of it to a friend, when we consulted Dodridge, Macknight, and others, without being satisfied. It then came into my head, that it should be read and explained as follows :

‘Then saith Pilate unto him, speakest thou not unto me ? knowest thou not, that I have power to crucify thee, and have power to release thee ?’

Jesus answered (Thou couldest have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above), *Therefore*, he that delivered me unto thee hath the greater sin.’

Which I thus paraphrase :

PILATE—I have power to crucify thee, and power to release thee.

JESUS—*Therefore*, he that, knowing my innocence, hath delivered me unto thee, *who hast this power of*  
the

*the sword*, hath the greater sin. *Be assured, however,* that thou couldest have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above.

This appears to me the natural explication of our Lord's inference. But others may see it in a different light. To the judges therefore I submit it. But, *hath the greater sin*, I think, should be, *hath greater sin*, or more sin, i. e. hath his sin in delivering me up to thee aggravated and increased.

If you dislike the parenthesis, we may still keep the reference of *therefore* to Pilate's words, to which indeed I think it belongs, by supposing a few words understood, in this manner :

Thou couldest have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above. *But since thou hast this power of the sword*, Therefore he that, knowing my innocence, &c." <sup>1</sup>

## I C O R. X. 16-21.

"In order to deter the Corinthians from partaking of the feasts at idolatrous sacrifices, St. Paul seems to argue on the following principle :

That real effects, good or evil, are connected with sacrifices, and communicated to the partakers of the sacrifice.

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Mr. Loveday, April 24, 1780. Bishop Pearce, as he afterwards observed, "seems to agree with him in explaining *da vero*" in this passage.



This principle he shows to hold in the participation of the Christian sacrifice, and of Jewish sacrifices, that thence he may argue to the effects of idolatrous sacrifices.

With regard to the Christian sacrifice he reminds them (ver. 16.), that at the Lord's table there is a communion of Christ's sacrifice. In the next place,

Ver. 17. He instructs them concerning the effects of this sacrifice, that in consequence of partaking of the sign and pledge of it, the eucharistical bread, the faithful are united into one body.

Ver. 18. The effects of Jewish sacrifices he does not ascertain; it being sufficient for his purpose to remind them, that it is an acknowledged truth, that they who eat of the sacrifice partake of the altar.

Ver. 19. But granting all this, it will be said perhaps, that the object of heathen sacrifices not being the one Almighty God of the Jews and Christians, but a senseless piece of wood, stone, or metal, the sacrifice made to it must partake of the inefficiency of its object; and there being no just analogy between the cases, the argument from one to the other is inconclusive.

Ver. 20. St. Paul in answer allows, that the idol itself is as nothing; but then asserts with apostolical authority, that the sacrifices made before the idol do not terminate in it, but are in truth offered to devils, powerful and malignant beings; and the efficacy of the

the sacrifice being established by the reality and power of its object, the conclusion, on the foot of analogy, too surely follows,

That as the partaking of the Lord's table is a communion of Christ, so the partaking of the table of devils is a communion of them; which must separate us from our union with Christ, and lead us fatally in a contrary direction.'

The seventeenth verse, I conceive, determines a very material point, the meaning of the preceding word, Communion; whether we understand this verse as our translators do, or in the sense which Dr. Waterland, as well as Dr. Bell, adopts, and which has always appeared to me the more natural:

'Because the bread is one, we being many are one body; for we are all partakers of that one bread.'

The body, of which St. Paul here speaks, is, as he calls it, xii. 27. the body of Christ; with whom the members of it have the like internal and intimate connection, as the branches have with the vine. He is the head, from whom all the body by joints and bands, having nourishment ministered, and knit together, increaseth with the increase of God. Col. ii. 19.

He afterwards expressed it thus: "That an idolatrous sacrifice being performed not to God but devils, the partaking of it is a communion of devils, which is utterly inconsistent with our union with Christ, and must be fatal in its consequences.

Christ

Christ only could originally constitute such a body, and his power and energy must be perpetually necessary to animate and *compact* it. (Eph. iv. 16.) Without Him the head, no social act of any number of Christians can avail any thing to that purpose.

But, by ver. 17. the joint participation of the sacramental bread does avail to that purpose. It must be therefore because he is present in the celebration of the ordinance, and hath appointed it as a mean, by which he imparts and the faithful receive of that sanctifying spirit, which unites the members to the head and to each other, and compacts the whole into one body. This imparting and receiving must then be implied in the communion of ver. 16. For nothing short of this is adequate to the effect, which, by ver. 17, is annexed to the joint partaking of that one bread."

July, 1781.

In a sermon<sup>1</sup> on the first of these verses, he observes, "The Lord's supper is not only a remembrance and commemoration of the death and sacrifice of Christ, but a feast upon this sacrifice. When St. Paul tells us, 1 Cor. v. 7, 8, 'Christ our passover is sacrificed for us, therefore let us keep the feast;' his words imply, that the Jewish passover was a sacrifice and feast upon it; and that Christians have a passover which resembles it." And he states this resemblance or parallel at some length.

<sup>1</sup> Written in December 1780.



## GALATIANS, III.

“ Is this the substance of the apostle's argument?

God made a promise to Abraham, which hath the nature of a covenant, that in his seed, in one person descended from him, that is, Christ, all nations should be blessed.

Four hundred and thirty years after this, the law from mount Sinai was ordained by the ministry of angels, and the mediation of Moses.

The very nature of mediation supposes two parties, between whom the Mediator exercises his office.

One of these parties is plainly the people of Israel. And who is the other? As plainly God.

God therefore was a party, both in the Abrahamic and Sinaitic covenants.

But God is one; one in a moral as well as natural sense, by simplicity of *will* as well as of *essence*.

As such he could not will or intend by the Sinaitic, a subsequent and limited, covenant, to alter or infringe a prior and universal, the Abrahamic covenant.

This therefore stands good, and hath its full effect, without need of support from the other.

Is

Is therefore the law of the Sinaitic covenant hostile to the promise of the Abrahamic? By no means. By showing what sin is, it shows the want of the covenant in Christ; it contains the promises of him, and typifies his character and offices. It is therefore an introduction to Christ. But when it has answered this end, it is of no further use. It cannot deliver from the guilt or power of sin: it is not of a nature to give life. These are the prerogatives of the Abrahamic covenant, brought to perfection by the advent and performances of Christ the promised seed."

#### PHILIPPIANS, II. 6—II.

"As far as I can collect, the sense of Philippians ii. 6—II. which Wolfius approves, is to this effect:

'Who possessing a state of divine majesty (and by consequence the real nature of God), did not pompously display, and pertinaciously retain it, but took on himself a servile state.'

Here they seem all to agree, that the *servile state*, here intended, was that of a mean condition among men.

But as every created being is in a servile state, a state of subjection, with regard to his Creator, may not the meaning of a *servile state* be the state of a creature of God? the apostle then explaining what this creaturely state was, which the Son of God assumed,

fumed, namely that of man; in which state he further humbled himself by being obedient to death, even the death of the cross."

To these scriptural criticisms, it seems not improper to subjoin the following letter on the liturgy, written to a friend, Jan. 5, 1786.

"You have great objections to many passages in the Psalms; and so should I too, if I did not consider them in a different light, as warnings not wishes, as the voice not of an individual, uttering his private resentments, but of the church; in which I join, not to execrate any, but to declare, on the authority of God's word, what will be the final end of the unjust, of the cruel, the malicious, the enemies of God and his religion.

Such undoubtedly is her voice in the Commination: which resembles the public reading of an act of parliament against certain vices, or one in particular, for instance swearing. The legislature, by ordering such a thing to be done, means not to thrust any one within the fangs of the law; but, by showing how it will strike the offender, to deter from the offence. And this seems an act, not of malice or revenge, but of parental kindness. The Commination does not say, *Curfed be* the man, but, *Curfed is* the man: how curfed? by lying under the sentence of the divine law, and being liable to its penalties, unless he repent of his sins, and forsake them. By pointing out the evil of his present state, it warns him to flee from it.

But



But this, you will say, does not reach the case of those passages in the Psalms, to which you object. These do not run in the form, *They will be wiped out of the book of life*, but, *Let them be wiped out*. Yet what if the real sense of these seeming execrations is either purely declaratory, or prophetic? The very verse in which you instance, Psal. lviii. 9. (which by the way seems a very obscure passage) runs in the future tense in the bible translation; and the whole psalm may fairly be interpreted as a forcible remonstrance to men in power, against oppression and perversion of justice. If then it was penned by David in the time of his royalty, does it not indicate a princely concern for his inferior subjects, to admonish his nobles and judges, that one higher than they will surely call them to account for abuse of authority?

The three most remarkable psalms of the sort which you complain of, are xxxvth, lxixth, and cixth; all of which may, on the best grounds, be considered as prophetic. Christ, as St. Paul says, 'is the end of the law,' of the law appointed by Moses, and subsisting till the gospel times. Its most significant rites, and most important prophecies and events, had an aspect upon Him. And to these psalms, our Lord himself says, John xv. 25, that the Jews, by hating him without a cause, fulfilled the words of their law: which words occur in Psalm xxxv. 19. St. Peter tells us also, Acts i. 16, that Judas, by betraying his Lord, incurred what David had predicted of him; and then cites two clauses from Psalms lxix. and cix. Nay he says, that the Holy Ghost spake these

these things by the mouth of David : whose language and descriptions, under this influence, went often, as did those of the other prophets, beyond his own immediate and distinct views. If in the xxiid Psalm his first design was to paint his own distresses, it hath been so ordered, that he has done it in colours much better adapted ultimately to the sufferings of Christ : to which the evangelists apply several parts of the psalm. The end of the workman and his master, you know, may be different in the same thing. The end of the man whom you hire to plough and sow your field, may be only to earn the price of his labour ; your's is to obtain a crop of corn. Whatever therefore were the intentions of the Psalmist, which I hope were much milder than you suppose, in the passages that seem to curse his own foes, I read them as intended by Him who seeth the end from the beginning, as denunciations against the enemies of Christ and his Gospel. Are they prophetic ? I adore in their accomplishment on the Jewish nation the hand of Him who says, ' Vengeance is mine, and I will repay.' Are they declaratory ? I would sound in the ears of sinners their infinite peril, who crucify the Son of God to themselves afresh by their lusts. Heb. vi. 6. In this light I consider these passages, that is, as either prophetic or monitory. If any private devout Christian cannot see them in the same light, as He may with as good a conscience be silent when they are read, so I think I can read them aloud.

The Churching of women, being performed in many churches at the communion table as a separate service,

service, would be too short, as you propose to retrench it, and I think lose instead of acquiring solemnity.

I believe the Morning Prayer, the Litany, and Communion service were intended by our Reformers to be distinct; and, if I am rightly informed, were for a considerable time performed in some cathedrals at different times of the morning, that they who could not be present at one, might attend another. The joining them together, as is now done, has occasioned a more frequent repetition of the Lord's prayer, and very much lengthened the service. But *long* is a relative term: and though I think there is no great danger, that the patient perseverance of your ancestors in hearing and praying should return; yet since things improbable are possible, how shall the Church, if she is to establish any thing permanent, accommodate the length of her offices to the variable modes of thinking, that succeed each other in her children?"

The merit of these articles, I trust, will abundantly compensate the length of them. I now resume the thread of narration.

In the northern part of the diocese of Chester, the Roman catholics form a considerable body. This circumstance, and his connection with that district as archdeacon of Richmond, although, as we have seen, the relation was little more than nominal, induced him to turn his mind to examine the claims of the church of Rome: and he composed a dissertation on the subject, deducing his arguments against the pretensions



tensions of the infallible see chiefly from a consideration of the vision in the Apocalypse concerning Babylon, as it is understood by learned expositors of that communion to signify the city of Rome.

His travels abroad, and his studies at home, concurred to qualify him for this inquiry; and what he wrote on the subject was highly approved by the judicious friends to whose perusal he submitted it, and they urged him to publish. The work was carefully and repeatedly revised, and transcribed for the press; but, with his wonted diffidence, he deferred the publication; nor did he at last, when the question was put to him, pronounce decisively whether it should, or should not, be printed.

Another matter there was however, on which, whenever a fit occasion presented itself, he never showed any hesitation or reluctance. This was to cultivate and promote charity; of which one instance ought here to be remembered, that regarded a new institution, set on foot under the auspices of Bishop Porteus, in the Archdeaconry before mentioned. There had long been a very ample subscription for the benefit of the necessitous clergy in the archdeaconry of Chester; but there was none for those who wanted it most, in the northern deaneries, where the livings are the smallest, and the country, comparatively, poor and ill inhabited. It was thought by many a hopeless undertaking to raise any thing like a tolerable fund in a district so desolate. The zeal, however, of the good prelate determined to attempt

it; and with the help principally of Dr. Townson, who was uncommonly active in the business, and of the Rev. Mr. Hutton, vicar of Burton, the project succeeded beyond the most sanguine expectations of those who patronized it.<sup>1</sup> Both the gentry and clergy subscribed cheerfully and liberally. There is now a very handsome fund, and infinite service is daily done by it to the poor clergy, to their widows and families, in those parts. Dr. Townson was chosen President of the infant establishment,<sup>2</sup> was an annual subscriber to it, and gave also to it annually a benefaction of ten pounds.

Meanwhile he was going on with and perfecting, at intervals of leisure, the Discourse on our blessed Saviour's Resurrection; which was begun, as we have mentioned, in 1778. In the following spring, he spoke of the work as being so far finished, that, as he then thought, he could make it no better; only that a few notes were to be added.<sup>3</sup> In 1784 he printed part of it, to which he prefixed the following modest advertisement:<sup>4</sup>

“A few copies are printed of the First Part of this Discourse, for the sake of submitting it to more im-

<sup>1</sup> From the information of the Bishop of London, January 1, 1793.

<sup>2</sup> Kendal, July 3, 1778.

<sup>3</sup> Letter to Mr. Loveday, March 22, 1779.

<sup>4</sup> The title was, “A Discourse on the Evangelical Histories of the Resurrection and first Appearances of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.” 53 pages, 4to.

partial judges than most authors are of their own performances. If the friends of the writer think the plan he has pursued unsatisfactory, he had rather stop, and suppress what is here laid before them, than trouble the Christian world with any thing further on a subject that has been so frequently canvassed. Their free opinion of the whole, or, if they approve the plan in general, of particular passages to which they may object, will be very thankfully received by him."

He distributed six or eight copies among those in whose judgement he placed confidence. The plan was, in all material parts, the same as it now is, and as it had been from the first. The words however of the evangelists were not disposed in regular sequence, but introduced occasionally in the body of the work, and followed by remarks and illustrations.

One of the friends to whom he gave this was Sir Roger Newdigate, Bart. who had studied the subject of the resurrection with much care and attention. His advice to the author, after an exact perusal and consideration of the plan, was, that he should compose a harmony of this part of the Gospels, in the manner of Toinard, arranging the words of each evangelist in parallel columns, with a connecting paraphrase by the side; and that the proofs and illustrations should be subjoined to this unbroken series of narration. The scheme suggested met his approbation; and he new modeled the work accordingly; and was more and more convinced, the more he



considered it, that this plan would turn out the clearest and most satisfactory.\*

Still however no intreaties could extort the manuscript from him; and when he understood that a learned work or two on the subject were just come out in Germany,<sup>2</sup> he eagerly seized the intelligence to repress the solicitations of friendly importunity for immediate publication. The works were procured, and the substance of the most material passages was translated for him from the German. They occasioned no alteration in his performance, though the desire of seeing them had afforded a plea for deferring to publish. Bishop Newcome's "Review of the chief difficulties in the Gospel-history relating to our Lord's Resurrection," published in Dublin at the close of the year 1791, he did not see; and had it reached him, as his Lordship "accedes to Dr. Benson's hypothesis," with which he was well acquainted, it would probably in his estimation have been classed with other labours of the learned, which he did not wish to notice, where he could not commend.

In his last illness, and in the last part of that illness, he revised the work again. He improved the

\* Letters to Dr. Loveday, Dec. 20, 1787, and March 27, 1788.

<sup>2</sup> The History of the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, by John Frederic Plessing; Halle, 1788. 2 vol. 8vo.

On Golgotha, or the Sepulchre of Christ, by the same; ib. 1789.

index, and made some slight emendations in the discourse itself. He thought there was a passage in St. Augustin's Consent of the Evangelists still more to his purpose, than what he has quoted; but he could not discover it. "Some one perhaps, he said, will meet with it, and will say, 'What he has cited is not much amiss; but he might have produced this, which would have more availed him.' With all my heart; he is perfectly welcome to his triumph."

He at first proposed, as a motto for the work, Acts ii. 24. "Whom God hath raised up, having loosed the pains of death; because it was not possible that he should be holden of it." He afterwards wished for some little ornament or vignette for the title page; and he suggested a drawing of the Church of the holy Sepulchre from Cotovicus or Sandys, and in the east the sun just risen, according to St. Mark, xvi. 2; with these words of St. Luke under it: "He is not here, but is risen," xxiv. 6. This, he thought, if done neatly, would be very proper. Next day, which was the day before his decease, he mentioned "a very ingenious young lady" in the neighbourhood, who he thought would execute the design with elegance, and perhaps might not be displeased with the compliment. From her drawing, which I will not disparage by attempting to praise, the plate is engraved.

He wrote a letter to his friend Dr. Loveday—the last he ever wrote—to accompany the Discourse: in

which he tells him, "At last come the papers to you, that you have been so long desiring; and now they are come, perhaps you may begin to wish, you had not been so eager after them. For now the whole trouble of transacting with the bookseller, and of revising the press, will devolve upon yourself.— You see how exceedingly gracious I am to you." After this stroke, and more, of his usual pleasantry, together with some directions relative to the publication, he concludes, "I pray God to have you all in his holy keeping."

Under the inspection of the friend to whom the work was thus intrusted, it is now faithfully printed from the corrected manuscript. As to the merit of the performance, his only remark was, "that he had done the best he could; and if the world were not satisfied, they must criticise;—but, Mr. Churton, if they do not make haste, I shall be out of their way!"

In this detail, which I trust is, in part, a view of the author as well as the work, we have attended him to the verge of the grave. But we must look back upon one or two circumstances of earlier occurrence.

No one can live long in this world without surviving some of his dearest friends. It is the condition of mortality, designed by gracious Providence, among other wise purposes, to make us content to

\* April 12, 1792.



go hence, when it shall please God to summon us to another part of his universal kingdom. Mr. Loveday's name has appeared in these papers as a friend and correspondent of Dr. Townson's. He was "the constant object of his esteem and affection, from a very early period of his life;"<sup>1</sup> and he did not scruple to declare, that he owed the turn of study which produced his theological works, "more to Mr. Loveday's friendship and conversation, than to any other human means."<sup>2</sup> This incomparable person, thus connected with Dr. Townson, and therefore with these memoirs, departed this life, May 16, 1789. He used to say, that when any one died, a certain portion of knowledge was lost to the world, and died with him: a remark that has seldom been more strikingly exemplified, than in himself. For though his abilities were great, and his communications to works of literature as liberal as his stores were ample, he never himself published any thing. In history and antiquities he possessed a fund of intelligence, that was almost inexhaustible; and if he could not instantly inform you on a subject, he always knew where information, if books could supply it, was to be found. He was eminent in philological learning of all sorts; and for exact skill in the original languages of the holy Scriptures, he had not perhaps, after the death of his intimate friend Bishop Lowth, his equal in the kingdom. His taste was polished, his judgement candid; and he particularly excelled in the virtues of the heart, and the graces of con-

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Mr. Churton, May 23, 1789.

<sup>2</sup> Letter to Mr. Loveday, July 25, 1778.

versation; in sensibility and charity; in modesty, humility, and universal cheerfulness. We have it under his own hand,—which never wrote what his heart did not dictate, “that, take all things together, he never relished life more”<sup>1</sup> than in his 79th year; and at that advanced period, with a slight decay of memory, and under a gradual decline of bodily strength, he still retained “just the same degree of understanding, with which his God originally endowed him.” He lived without an enemy, and died without a groan; leaving regret to his friends, and to the world a character that will never perish.

The year after the decease of this his dear and honoured friend, an infirmity came upon Dr. Townson, which rendered traveling painful and hazardous. The malady, in itself not very severe nor uncommon, was affecting in its circumstances. It was the first symptom of approaching dissolution; and it cut him off from visiting those distant friends whom he loved and respected. His feelings were sensibly touched on the occasion; but he quickly became content, and almost pleased with the dispensation. “I do not,” he said with emphasis, “regret this at all. There is a time when it is right a man should stay at home.”

<sup>1</sup> Note to Dr. Townson, March 19, 1789: See in the *Gent. Mag.* for that year, p. 471, some account of Mr. Loveday, and also, p. 487. a character of him, signed Crito, drawn with equal ability and truth by John Taylor, M.D. of Reading, a member of Brasen Nose College—to which those who have every reason to wish well, cannot wish better than that it may always produce similar talents and worth.

And the sincerity of the declaration was evinced by his spirits and cheerfulness, which flowed, if possible, with a fuller tide than ever.

Poetry, if it is not of a gloomy cast, is commonly an indication that the spirits do not flag. At the close of this year, 1790, he wrote the following ode, to his friend William Drake, jun. Esq. in return for a present he had received from him :

*Aufus et ipse manu juvenum tentare laborem.*

GULIELMO DRAKE, JUNIORI, ARMIGERO.

Integer vitæ Gulielme, Tecum  
Tiberis ripas adiisse gratum est,  
Quaque florentis populi alluebat  
Sequana turres,

Tunc ovans amnis ; neque enim sciebat  
Quanta vis, orci e tenebris, Sororum  
Missa dirarum male feriatam  
Urbem agitare.

Nunc dolet priscis Pietas ab aris  
Pulsa ; cesserunt et Honos et Ordo ;  
Rege detrufo, modo qui per orbem  
Claruit omnem ;

Rege captivo, et trepidante, plebis  
Inter insanæ miseris tumultus,  
Quæ suum miro Dominum colebat  
Nuper amore.

Gens



Gens levis, gens sunt malefida Galli,

Sed Fides antiqua beatiorem

Anglicâ terrâ retinet—tuoque

Pectore sedem.

Quas pares grates tibi, proque cultis

Verfibus reddat nitidoque dono,

Qui tuo imprimis animo foveri

Gaudet, amicus?

Exeat felix abiturus annus ;

Ducat et longâ seriem fequentûm,

Cuncta qui plene cumulent tuisque

Et Tibi fausta.

Dec. 4, 1790.

He still composed sermons occasionally for the instruction of his parish. Nor was he inattentive, amidst his sacred studies, to the publications of the day, and to works of philology and genius. In the autumn of 1791, he was reading Mr. Cowper's Iliad "with no small pleasure; and had proceeded about half way, but then stopt, finding his relish for such intellectual amusements failing him. Whether I have recovered it, he says, I have not yet made the experiment; and at this time of day it would be no great matter whether I have or not, if my thoughts had so much more fully taken a higher direction."

When he wrote this he was struggling with that malady, which it pleased God was his last. Some

\* Letter to Mr. Churton, Feb. 16, 1792.

symptoms

symptoms of dropfy came upon him with the cold weather in December. However he still attended church; and on the first day of the new year preached with good elocution, twenty three minutes, on Proverbs xxvii. 1. "Boast not thyself of to morrow, for thou knowest not what a day may bring forth." This was the first text on which he preached in Malpas church, and it happened to be the last. His complaint, attended with an asthma, increased after this in a very rapid and alarming degree; and, for the first time during his residence at Malpas, medical assistance was called in.

Upon the first attack of the disorder his spirits sunk considerably; but divine goodness, aiding his endeavours, soon restored his cheerfulness in all its vigour. Medicine also afforded some relief to the disorder; but this very relief was not without its inconvenience; and he wrote the following epigram on the "dilemma between taking and refusing the medicines prescribed for shortness of breath:"

Pharmaca, quæ stomachum vexant et viscera, fumo,  
Nempe ea succurrunt debili anhelitui.  
Ni fumo, intereo male spirans; ast ubi fumo,  
Non queo ferre cibos, intereoque fame.

He read Isaac Walton's Lives during his illness; with a view, no doubt, to trim his lamp and prepare for his Lord, by comparing his conduct with the examples of those meek and holy men, described by the pleasing and faithful biographer. He also read,

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Dr. Loveday, March 15, 1792.

and

and assuredly with similar intentions, Mr. Herbert's Country Parson. In conversing with a very worthy and highly esteemed friend, the Rev. Ralph Bridge, M. A. curate of Malpas, on an event which it was foreseen could not be far distant, the "passage of death" was mentioned; and, in allusion to that expression, he shortly afterwards desired him in the following distich to pray, that, if it pleased God, his departure might neither be lingering, nor painful:

*Funde preces Domino, ne transitus hunc per angustum sit longus, neu mihi difficilis."*

His respiration at times was laborious, especially after any little exertion; but in general, at least by his own account, he suffered very little pain. He slept comfortably; and often when he awaked felt as well as ever he was in his life, till he began to move, and found the want of strength and activity.

Though it was winter, and his friends pressed him to stay at home, he attended church with very few intermissions. And on Easter Sunday, April 8, the hand that writes this, administered to him, at the holy table, the blessed emblems of the body and blood of his dear Redeemer.

On the following Saturday he had had a remarkably good night; and read prayers to his family with greater strength of voice, than he had done for several days. He was extremely cheerful. His curate,



rate, the Rev. James Heaton, M. A. called, and he gave him privately four guineas for a charitable subscription, with an injunction to put down his name for half the sum only. And this may, not improperly, be called the last deed of his life. For in less than an hour, as he was walking alone, he fell; and though he was not bruised by the fall, the concussion and the cold (for it was in the open air) hurt him greatly. His breathing was difficult; and he dozed most part of the time.

This accident, in all human appearance, shortened his days perhaps a week or a fortnight. But the stroke was not without circumstances of mercy. He had this very morning given the only direction, that remained to be given respecting his work—had no alteration taken place, his Brasen Nose friend, who was now with him, would have returned, as duty called him, to Oxford—and, lastly, he must otherwise, in a few days, have been confined to a bed of debility and languor. But, as matters were ordered, the Father of all wisdom, and God of all comfort, who had permitted an attachment he once had to be disappointed, was pleased so to extend his goodness to his faithful servant, both in his former unexampled good health, and in the circumstances of his final sickness, that those endearing attentions, which female tenderness and affection alone can administer, should not be wanted: and what servants can perform, was done in the best manner possible.

He rose on Sunday morning, April 15, at the usual hour; but his strength was not recruited. He had frequent

frequent and calm slumbers ; felt no uneasiness, except "sometimes a very very little pain in his breast." His memory was as quick as ever, and his attention to his friends undiminished. Towards evening, when it was proposed to assist him to bed, he put it off with civil excuses. About eight o'clock he consented ; and walked between two persons with some alertness. Supporting him while the servant took off his clothes, he fainted in my arms ; and it was feared life was no longer in him. But when he was laid gently down in bed, he revived ; and lay, he said, quite easy. At the hour of prayers, as it was judged he was too infirm to join in them, those who could be spared withdrew to another room. When we returned, the laborious respiration had ceased ; he breathed feebly, but seemingly with perfect ease. In a very short space he opened his eyes, and with a placid countenance looked stedfastly upwards best part of a minute. Then he closed his eyes, and in less than another minute had ceased breathing, but so calmly and gently, that the friend who stood nearest could not perceive his last breath.

He was interred near the grave of his diligent and respected curate, the Rev. Mr. Turner, on Monday the 23d of April ; when ten of the neighbouring clergy, those whom he loved and valued whilst he lived, paid the last sad offices due to humanity. At the mournful solemnity, crowds indulged their affection and their grief, by a voluntary attendance and abundant tears ; and the principal inhabitants put on the

the robe of sorrow, to soothe their melancholy and show their regard. So is goodness honoured and lamented!

In his will, dated May 28, 1791, he "commends his soul into the hands of his Creator, who gave it, through his infinite mercies in his only Son, our ever blessed Redeemer and Saviour, Jesus Christ; and if he dies at Malpas, he desires his body may be buried somewhere in the church-yard, towards the north side of the church." To his friend and patron, William Drake, Esq. he bequeathed one hundred pounds to purchase books; and desired the Right Honourable Lord Bagot to accept some of his Italian books, "as a small token of his gratitude and esteem:" and left also memorials to other branches of the family, which he had known so long and valued so highly. To his godchildren likewise he left remembrances, and legacies to his distant relations; annuities to certain widows and poor neighbours, and legacies to all his servants. To Magdalen College, of which he had been fellow, he gave one hundred pounds; and the like sum to each of the Societies for Promoting and Propagating the Christian religion, of both which he had been many years a member.\* To the poor of Malpas he gave fifty pounds, to be distributed at the discretion of his

\* He became a subscribing member of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1752; and member of the other before 1757; and was one of the Stewards for the Feast of the Sons of the Clergy in 1771.



worthy brother rector, the Rev. Mr. Heber; and the reversionary interest of five hundred pounds South Sea stock, after some annuities fall in, for educating young children; or other charitable purposes, as the rectors for the time being should think best. He likewise directed certain books out of his library should be given to his friend Mr. Loveday, or, if he survived him, to his son Dr. Loveday. The rest of his property, real and personal, he bequeaths to his dear brother and sole executor, John Townson, Esq. of Gray's Inn.

Thus affection, piety, and charity, conspicuous features in his life, peculiarly distinguish also this his final will and testament. It is supposed, that out of an income of about eight hundred pounds a year he generally bestowed a fourth part, and sometimes half, in deeds of beneficence. This revenue of charity was managed by him with all possible secrecy, with the most amiable condescension and kindness to those who were the objects of it, and in every respect with the greatest wisdom and circumspection. For indeed he was blessed with an excellent understanding and judgement, improved by much reflection, and observation of the world, as well as large and well-selected reading. Having in early life laid his foundation in the sciences, and formed his taste on the best models of antiquity, he thenceforth devoted his time and talents to his peculiar profession; and human learning became the handmaid of theology. Of the success of his labours in this sublime study, and of the extent and accuracy

accuracy of his knowledge, it is needless to speak; of this his works, in which intelligence at once various and profound is so admirably brought to bear on the subject in hand, are a lasting monument. He had in truth the most perfect command of all his intellectual stores; and so intimately was he versed in the celebrated authors of Greece and Rome, and their great English rivals, that there was scarcely a shining passage in their immortal works, that was not treasured up in his wonderful memory. His conversation, whether with a few or with more, was rich, animated, and interesting; and perhaps no one, endowed with any degree of sensibility, ever was in his company without feeling himself, for the time, happier and better. His cheerfulness was invariable, and his civility the genuine virtue of the heart; and that a heart overflowing with benevolence, and hallowed by religion. From this source streamed an effulgence of countenance, which those only who beheld can adequately conceive; but which perhaps never was better expressed, than in the words of our great poet:

“Till oft converse with heav’nly habitants

Begin to cast a beam on th’ outward shape

The unpolluted temple of the mind.”<sup>1</sup>

He was graceful in person, of middle stature, and rather thin, till he made his second tour into Italy,

<sup>1</sup> Milton’s *Comus*, 459.

when he returned and continued of a fuller habit. He had long used glasses; but, sight excepted, his bodily senses were unimpaired, and his teeth as firm and as white as ivory. But, "of the soul alone the form is immortal," and of That the fairest ornament was piety. We have before spoken of his devotion, domestic and public. His more private aspirations to heaven, the exercise of his closet, I presume not to "draw from their sacred abode." They were known to Him who seeth in secret; and He will one day reward them openly. Public facts, however, are within the province of the historian; and, if good, should be held forth to imitation. His piety was an early habit, and it never forsook him. It was the guide of his youth, the support of manhood, the crown of old age. In foreign countries this was his comfort; in all the felicity of his native land, whose constitution none more ardently loved and admired, as few better understood; in all the felicity of this favoured land, religion was his delight, and the Church of England his glory. The full effects of this piety can be known only at that day, which shall reveal all things; but many, doubtless, were in every way won to righteousness by its transcendent loveliness. It was humble and unobtrusive, never dashed harmless mirth, never courted human applause; but, associated with joy and serenity, was ever ready, at home or abroad, in the moment of gladness or day of affliction, to advance the love of God, the belief of his gospel, and the good of mankind.

† *Forma mentis aeterna.* Tacit. Vit. Agric. ad fin.

His



His candour was as striking as his other virtues. He gave full praise to merit, wherever it appeared; and was most willing to make allowance for human infirmity. The depravity of the age, that stale topic of the idle and censorious, was no subject of complaint with Him; he hoped and believed better things of the world he lived in. He was a kind and gracious master; a most generous and faithful friend. Greater humanity has rarely dwelt in man; nor ever with more perfect obedience to a still higher principle. To behold him when he parted with those he loved, or when they were removed by death, was a lesson of affection to the heart, and of faith to the soul. He who records this had long been treated by him with parental tenderness; and in his last illness, when moments were precious, he never suffered him to retire to rest, without some act or expression of kindest regard.

Never, perhaps, in these latter ages has any man, in a like situation, been equally esteemed, and equally lamented. His parish, his friends, and all good men grieved for an event, that extinguished one of the brightest ornaments of religion and learning, and took from the poor, the widow, and the orphan, a protector, a guide, a father: of whom we may affirm, almost without a figure, that his every sentiment was piety, and every deed beneficence; his spirit was meekness, and his soul charity.

Such was his life; and his death was similar, equally serene, resigned, and edifying. Without a  
h 2 struggle,

struggle, without a sigh, his heart fixed on heaven, and his looks directed thither, he closed his eyes, never to open till the resurrection of the just.

R. CHURTON.

BRASEN-NOSE COLLEGE,

Feb. 15, 1793.

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yes,  
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A  
DISCOURSE  
ON THE  
EVANGELICAL HISTORY,  
FROM THE  
INTERMENT TO THE ASCENSION  
OF  
OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST.



*He is not here, but is Risen. Luke xxiv. 6.*



DISCOURSE

EVANGELICAL HISTORY

FROM THE

INTERMENT TO THE ASCENSION

OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST

### ADDITIONS.

P. vi. [Note] l. 5. *read*, 1736 : and a third when he was B. A. on the death of Queen Caroline. They, &c.

Ib. l. 7. *read*, suspect to be his (for I find them written in his hand, and dated, one "61." the other, "Sept. 8, 62.") though, &c.

In the Discourses on the Gospels, p. 198. ed. 8vo. and in the index, for "Mark vi. 18." *read*, 48.

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## INTRODUCTION.

**T**HE chief difficulties that occur in the Evangelical History of the Lord Jesus from his death to his ascension are found in the morning of his resurrection. The events related of it fell within a short space of time; and were either nearly coincident, or quickly successive to each other. They are told briefly and but in part by the Evangelists, with few notes of time or order in one Gospel relative to another. No wonder then that learned men have judged variously of their connection, and have pursued different methods of reducing them into one narrative. Many of them have succeeded so far, as to show by a very probable arrangement, that the Gospels are wholly reconcileable with each other.

This is an important point; yet what may suffice to prove that there are no characters of disagreement in the facts recorded may not quite satisfy us that they are altogether rightly methodized. But in matters of such moment the mind must feel a certain content, and even edification, in tracing out the real order in which high Providence disposed them. And this we may hope is not unattainable by diligent in-

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quiry,

quity, and a devout attention to the letter and spirit of the Gospels.

O thou, that art the way and the truth and the life, who by thy Spirit didst enable the Evangelists to compose their Gospels with perfect truth and sanctity, give thy blessing to these endeavours of thy unworthy servant to explain a part of their holy writings. "O let thy scriptures be my pure delight; let me not be deceived in them, neither let me deceive by them." Amen, Lord Jesus, Amen.

Mary Magdalene is mentioned by St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. John, as going early to the sepulchre on the first day of the week. St. Mark joins two others with her; Mary the mother of James, and Salome the mother of Zebedee's children. He names these three; and his context will not allow us to suppose that there was any other person of their party. St. Luke, who speaks of a greater number of women going to the sepulchre, has so guarded his account of them as not to include the three just mentioned: and what is said by him of their vision and behaviour at the sepulchre is totally unlike any thing that is related of the two Maries and Salome. If these things can be made appear evident, from a comparison of the Evangelists, we must then in justice to them consider the women as going to the sepulchre in a less and larger company.

<sup>2</sup> The words of St. Augustin in his Confessions, quoted by the Translators of our English Bible towards the conclusion of their very learned Preface.

The

## INTRODUCTION. 3

The first, I believe, that regularly pursued this plan, was the late Mr. West in his "Observations on the History and Evidence of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ." It is no small pleasure to me to tread nearly in the steps of one, for whose character, moral as well as literary, I have a high respect; and to whom I esteem our part of the Christian world greatly indebted for standing forth with equal zeal and ability an advocate for the cause the most interesting to mankind, the cause of Christianity. His work, when it was published, had considerable influence: and the excellent remarks and dissertations with which it abounds, I hope, will make it long regarded.

For the readier comprehension of the order here observed, I shall prefix a summary of it: in which it does not seem necessary to refer to particular texts. They may be seen at large in the Harmony that follows it, and easily found under the corresponding sections.

### *Summary Account of the following Sections.*

#### SECTION I. FRIDAY EVENING.

Our Lord's disciples and the women that had followed him from Galilee were not absent from his crucifixion. "They stood beholding afar off."

Only his Virgin Mother, Mary her sister mother of James and Josès; and Mary Magdalene, with the



## 4 INTRODUCTION.

disciple whom Jesus loved, and to whose protection he then recommended his mother, are mentioned as venturing to approach his cross.

But when Joseph of Arimathea had obtained leave from Pilate to inter the body, the Galilean women in general followed it to the sepulchre, and saw where and how it was laid. They then hastened to the city to purchase and prepare spices that evening for anointing it as soon as might conveniently be done after the Sabbath; which, as beginning about sun-set, was then coming on. But Mary Magdalene and the other Mary, two of those who had been standing by his cross, did not depart with the rest. They continued "sitting over against the tomb."

## SECTION II. SATURDAY.

Towards the close of this day, which was the Jewish Sabbath, the chief priests and Pharisees with Pilate's permission set a guard upon the sepulchre, which was to secure it till the end of the third day.

The same evening, when the Sabbath was over, Mary Magdalene and the other Mary, who had lost their opportunity before, bought their share of spices, with the concurrence of a third, Salome the mother of Zebedee's children; who had probably been engaged the foregoing evening in attending and supporting

porting the mother of our Lord; whom he had recommended to the protection of her son, the beloved disciple.

SECTION III. SUNDAY MORNING.

Very early the next morning, and probably before the time settled for opening the sepulchre, these three women hastened to visit it by themselves.

The two Maries set out before it was day-light, I presume because they lodged further from the sepulchre than Salome; whom they called upon to accompany them: and while they were on their way an angel descended, and rolled away the stone that closed the entrance of the tomb; and Christ arose.

The guard, terrified at the sight of the angel, retired from the sepulchre as he approached it; and, when they were a little recovered from their consternation, quitted the garden in which it stood.

The women arrived when the soldiers were gone, and at the rising of the sun. On drawing near to the sepulchre they perceived that the stone was rolled away; and Mary Magdalene, concluding that the body was removed, hurried back to tell Peter and John.

When she was gone, the other Mary and Salome came to a resolution of examining more exactly; and ventured into the sepulchre: in the first part of which,  
it

it being divided into two, they beheld an angel sitting on the right side; who bid them not be afraid, assured them that Jesus was risen from the dead, and sent a message to his apostles by them. Having heard his speech, they hastened out of the sepulchre, and to a distance from it, with fear and great joy.

Soon after came Peter and John; and having inspected the tomb, without seeing the angel, or speaking to the women that had seen him, departed.

#### SECTION IV. SUNDAY MORNING.

Mary Magdalene followed, as fast as she was able, and, when they went away, staid behind, weeping at the sepulchre; then after a little pause stooped down, and looked into the tomb; where two angels were sitting, who asked her why she wept; to whose question having returned an answer expressive of her anxiety about the body of her Lord, she drew back and saw him standing by her, but at first did not perceive who he was. He quickly made himself known to her, and sent a message to his apostles by her.

#### SECTION V. SUNDAY MORNING.

Mary Magdalene in going to communicate her happy intelligence to them fell in again with her two friends the other Mary and Salome. In their way Christ met them, and bid them, All hail. He then permitted them to embrace his feet, and repeated the substance of the message to the apostles,  
which



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which the angel seen in the sepulchre had delivered to the two latter.

While these things were doing, a part of the guard came into the city to the chief priests; by whom, and a council of the elders called together, they were instructed what report they should spread on this occasion.

### SECTION VI.

#### REMAINING TRANSACTIONS OF SUNDAY MORNING.

Another company of women, at the head of whom was Joanna, came now to the sepulchre. Some of these had been ready to set out early for it. But while they were collecting their whole party, and proceeding slowly in waiting for each other, the time which they had probably agreed on for meeting there to anoint the body might be a little past. They therefore expressed no wonder, as had the former party, at seeing the tomb open. Their surprize was, when they had entered and searched it, not to find the body of the Lord Jesus; when two Angels stood by them, and assured them that he was risen, and reminded them of a prophecy concerning his own death and resurrection, which they had heard him utter in Galilee. The women recollected the prophecy, and went and reported "all these things unto the Eleven, and to all the rest."

Other evidences of the Lord's resurrection had been laid before them by the two Maries and Salome;

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lome; but to little purpose. So strong were their prejudices, that the words of the women seemed to them as idle tales.

Yet St. Peter was so struck with their accounts, that he ran again to the sepulchre to see if he could there behold the angels of whom they had spoken.

### SECTION VII.

#### SUNDAY AFTERNOON AND EVENING.

It is not said in what time of this day our Lord appeared to St. Peter; but it was probably after Cleopas and his companion were set out from Jerusalem. These two were joined on the road by a stranger, whom they discovered at Emmaus to be the Lord himself. On this discovery they hastened back to Jerusalem to the apostles assembled privately with some others of the disciples; and found them in possession of the fact respecting St. Peter. They then began to relate their own story, when the Lord himself stood in the midst of them, and having composed their minds alarmed at his appearance, and having satisfied their doubts, left them full of joy that they had seen the Lord.

### SECTION VIII.

#### THE SIX DAYS FOLLOWING THAT OF THE RESURRECTION.

It is not recorded that our Lord showed himself to any of his disciples during this interval. He seems to have left them to the testimony of those  
who

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9

who had seen him: and They endeavoured to persuade their brethren of the reality of his resurrection, but without working a thorough conviction in their minds. Among those, who had been absent when he appeared on Sunday night, was St. Thomas; who spoke his own and the sentiments of others in declaring, that nothing short of ocular demonstration could clear up his doubts.

### SECTION IX.

#### THE OCTAVE OF THE RESURRECTION.

On this day the apostles were assembled, probably in the same place, plainly at Jerusalem, and with others of the disciples; when the Lord came to them as before, the door being again fastened, and reproved them, at least in addressing himself to St. Thomas, "for their unbelief and hardness of heart, because they believed not them which had seen him after he was risen." St. Thomas with all humility confessed his offence: and no more difficulty remained with him and those of the company who were in the same situation.

It is likely that our Lord now appointed the time and place in Galilee where they should see him again.

### SECTION X.

#### THE TIME IN WHICH THE DISCIPLES WERE IN GALILEE.

The apostles then left Jerusalem and went into Galilee; and it seems as if they were allowed to  
com-



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communicate the design of their going to many of the followers of Christ; and that a multitude of them resorted to the mountain in Galilee, where he had promised to meet them. As soon as they beheld him, they paid their adoration to him. Some however that had not seen him before, and then saw him at some distance, were not without their doubts of his bodily presence. But he graciously came and conversed with them, and satisfied all, that it was He himself risen from the dead. He then declared that all power was given unto him in heaven and in earth.

### SECTION XI.

#### THE DISCIPLES STILL IN GALILEE.

Before the disciples quitted Galilee our Lord again showed himself to seven of them by the lake of Tiberias. He there signified in what manner St. Peter should die, and that St. John should long survive.

### SECTION XII.

#### FROM THE RETURN OF THE DISCIPLES TO JERUSALEM TO THE ASCENSION.

The disciples went back to Jerusalem, earlier I presume than was necessary to prepare for the feast of Pentecost; Acts xx. 16. and that therefore they went by a divine direction.

While they were assembled there, Christ instructed them in the things pertaining to the kingdom of God; and when the fortieth day, including that of his

## INTRODUCTION.

11

his resurrection, was come, he led them out as far as to Bethany; and he lifted up his hands and blessed them; and, while he blessed them, he was parted from them and carried up into heaven, and sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high.

The disciples having paid their adoration to him returned to Jerusalem with great joy, and passed their time in the temple, praising and blessing God, and preparing their hearts for the promised descent of the Holy Spirit upon them; who was to enable them to go forth and preach the glad tidings of salvation successfully to Jews, Samaritans, and Gentiles.

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Such is the method in which the part of the sacred history with which we are here concerned is laid down. The texts containing it now follow, with a collateral Paraphrase: and these will be succeeded by Observations either to explain facts, or justify the order in which they are disposed. In the Paraphrase and succeeding Observations the liberty will be taken, in a few instances, of departing a little from our very valuable Translation, where it is of some consequence that the Original should be somewhat more literally rendered.

# IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

is mentioned, and some of the best men of the  
 of the country, and he lifted up his hands and said  
 Abraham, and while he lifted up his hands he was saying  
 from them and carried up into heaven and he dwelt  
 on the right hand of the Most High.

The disciples having paid their attention to him  
 returned to Jerusalem with great joy and praised  
 their time in the temple, praising and blessing God,  
 and preparing their hearts for the promised blessing  
 of the Holy Spirit upon them, who was to enable  
 them to go forth and preach the glad tidings of the  
 Gospel successfully to Jews, Samaritans, and Gen-

Such is the method in which the part of the  
 most liberty with which we are here concerned is  
 laid down. The text contains it now follow  
 with a collateral hypothesis, and there will be the  
 needed by Christ, thus either to explain facts, or  
 justify the ones to which they are applied. In the  
 hypothesis and the text the influence of opening a little  
 will be taken, with the influence of opening a little  
 more one very simple translation, where it is  
 more correct. Of the Old and should be found  
 more here.



[ 13 ]

**HARMONY AND PARAPHRASE**

**OF THE**

**EVANGELICAL HISTORY**

**FROM THE**

**INTERMENT TO THE ASCENSION**

**OF**

**OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.**

**IN TWELVE SECTIONS.**

## SECTION I.

## THE

## PREPARATION,

## OR

## FRIDAY EVENING.

**T**HE chief acquaintance of our Lord who had followed him to mount Calvary remained afar off, beholding his crucifixion and the signs and wonders attending it: as did also many women that had come up with him to Jerusalem; some of whom had ministered unto him of their substance both in Galilee, Luke viii. 2. and in his progress to the city: among whom were Mary Magdalene, Mary the sister of our Lord's mother, wife of Cleopas, called also Alpheus, and mother of James the less and Josès, and Salome mother of James and John, the sons of Zebedee.

His friends in general stood lamenting at a distance. But a few of them were induced by the power of affection and grief to approach very near to his cross. These were his Virgin Mother, her sister Mary wife of Cleopas, Mary Magdalene, and John one of his Apostles.

Matth.

Matth. xvii.

Mark. xv.

Luke xxiii.

John xix.

55. And many women were there (beholding afar off) which followed Jesus from Galilee, ministering unto him.

36. Among which was Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James and Joses, and the mother of Zebedee's children.

40. There were also women looking on afar off; among whom was Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James the less, and of Joses, and Salome;

41. Who also, when he was in Galilee, followed him, and ministered unto him; and many other women which came up with him unto Jerusalem,

49. And all his acquaintance, and the women that followed him from Galilee, stood afar off, beholding these things.

25. Now there stood by the cross of Jesus, his mother, and his mother's sister, Mary the wife of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalene.

When



When Jesus therefore looking down from the cross saw his mother and the disciple standing by whom he loved, he saith unto his mother, Woman, behold thy son. Then saith he to the disciple, Behold thy mother : behave to her now and at all times with filial kindness and duty. And from that hour that disciple, leading her away from that sad and awful scene, took her to his own home, attended by his mother Salome, one of those "which stood beholding these things;" with whom leaving her for the present, to yield her all possible support, "while the sword was piercing through her soul," he himself returned to his attendance by the cross. See Joh. xix. 35.

Our Lord having expired on the cross on the Preparation or day before the Sabbath, about the ninth hour, when the early evening began, Heaven stirred up the spirit of a rich man, an honourable counselor, to take care of his most holy body.

This man was Joseph of Arimathea a Jewish city, a good and just man, and one who had not consented to their late proceedings. For he himself waited for the kingdom of God, and was a disciple of Jesus, though secretly for fear of the Jews.

Yet now he went in boldly to Pilate and besought him that he might take away the body of Jesus.

Pilate at first thought it strange that he should be so soon dead; and calling unto him the Centurion he asked him whether, as Joseph represented the matter, he had been any while dead; and, being satisfied by the Centurion that he really had been so some time, he commanded the body to be delivered to Joseph.

Matth.

Matth. xxvii.

Mark xv.

Luke xxiii.

John xix.

57. When the even was come, there came a rich man of Arimathea, named Joseph, who also himself was Jesus' disciple.

58. He went to Pilate, and begged the body of Jesus. Then Pilate commanded the body to be delivered.

42. And now when the even was come, (because it was the preparation, that is the day before the sabbath,)

43. Joseph of Arimathea, an honourable counsellor, which also waited for the kingdom of God,

came and went in boldly unto Pilate, and craved the body of Jesus.

44. And Pilate marvelled if he were already dead: and calling unto him the centurion, he asked him whether he had been any while dead.

45. And when he knew it of the centurion, he gave the body to Joseph.

50. And behold, there was a man named Joseph, a counsellor; and he was a good man, and a just:

51. (The same had not consented to the counsel and deed of them) he was of Arimathea, a city of the Jews (who also himself waited for the kingdom of God)

52. This man went unto Pilate; and begged the body of Jesus.

26. When Jesus therefore saw his mother, and the disciple standing by, whom he loved, he saith unto his mother, Woman, behold thy son!

27. Then saith he to the disciple, Behold thy mother! And from that hour that disciple took her unto his own home.

38. And after this, Joseph of Arimathea (being a disciple of Jesus, but secretly for fear of the Jews)

besought Pilate that he might take away the body of Jesus:

and Pilate gave him leave.

He went therefore, and without delay took down the body of Jesus, and wrapped it in a robe of fine linen which he had purchased.

There came also Nicodemus (who at first came to Jesus by night) and brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about an hundred pound weight.

Then they took the body of Jesus to a place of sepulture, and wrapped it in linen bandages with the spices, as is the manner of the Jews of rank to prepare for interment. His grave was appointed with the wicked; but with the rich man was his tomb, *Isai. liii. 9.* Bishop Lowth's Translation.

Now in the place where he was crucified was a garden, and in the garden a sepulchre belonging to Joseph, which he had caused to be hewn out of the rock; a new sepulchre, in which no one had ever yet been laid, consisting of a tomb and court before it.

This sepulchre being nigh at hand, they laid the body of Jesus in it, because it was the Jews' preparation, and the sabbath drew on. Joseph having rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulchre departed.\*

And the women also, that came with him from Galilee, followed after and beheld the sepulchre, and where and how his body was laid.

And most of them then returned in haste and prepared spices and ointments before the sabbath came on, on which they rested according to the commandment.

But Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of Joseph staid behind, and sat weeping over against the tomb.

\* See Index under Sepulchre; a quotation from Gori.

Matth.



Matth. xxvii.

59. And when Joseph had taken the body, he wrapped it in a clean linen cloth,

60. And laid it in his own new tomb, which he had hewn out in the rock: and he rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulchre, and departed.

61. And there was Mary Magdalene, and the other Mary, sitting over against the sepulchre.

Mark xv.

46. And he bought finelinen, and took him down, and wrapped him in the linen,

and laid him in a sepulchre, which was hewn out of a rock, and rolled a stone unto the door of the sepulchre.

47. And Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of Joses, beheld where he was laid.

Luke xxiii.

53. And he took it down, and wrapped it in linen,

and laid it in a sepulchre that was hewn in stone, wherein never man before was laid.

54. And that day was the preparation, and the sabbath drew on.

55. And the women also, which came with him from Galilee, followed after, and beheld the sepulchre, and how his body was laid.

56. And they returned, and prepared spices and ointments; and rested the sabbath-day, according to the commandment.

John xix.

He came therefore, and took the body of Jesus.

39. And there came also Nicodemus (which at the first came to Jesus by night) and brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about an hundred pound weight.

40. Then took they the body of Jesus, and wound it in linen clothes, with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury.

41. Now in the place where he was crucified there was a garden; and in the garden a new sepulchre, wherein was never man yet laid.

42. There laid they Jesus therefore, because of the Jews' preparation day, for the sepulchre was nigh at hand.

## S E C T I O N II.

SATURDAY, TOWARDS THE CONCLUSION OF  
THE SABBATH.

On the next day that followed the day of the preparation, and which was consequently the second day of our Lord's interment, the chief priests and Pharisees came together unto Pilate, saying, Sir, we remember that that deceiver, who was yesterday crucified, declared while he was living, that he would rise again the third day. We intreat you therefore to command that the sepulchre, in which you have permitted his friends to deposit him, may be well secured till this third day is past; lest his disciples should come by night and steal away his body, and then tell the people that he has verified his prediction, and is risen from the dead: in which case the last deceit will be worse than any that has preceded.

Pilate answered them, Ye have a guard of our soldiers. Take as many of them as are requisite, and make the place as sure as you can.

Having thus obtained leave from the governor, they ordered a sufficient number of soldiers to the sepulchre; and then repairing thither, and satisfying themselves that the body was in it, they secured the sepulchre with a guard, and set a seal upon the stone that closed the door of it; all which was managed so secretly, that the disciples of Christ had no suspicion of it.

Matth.

Matth. xxvii.	Mark.	Luke.	John.
<p>62. Now the next day that followed the day of the preparation, the chief priests and Pharisees came together unto Pilate,</p> <p>63 Saying, Sir, we remember that that deceiver said, while he was yet alive, After three days I will rise again :</p> <p>64. Command therefore that the sepulchre be made sure until the third day ; lest his disciples come by night, and steal him away, and say unto the people, He is risen from the dead : So the last error shall be worse than the first.</p> <p>65. Pilate said unto them, Ye have a watch : go your way, make it as sure as ye can.</p> <p>66. So they went and made the sepulchre sure, sealing the stone, and setting a watch.</p>			

\* See Index of Texts.

SATURDAY,



SATURDAY, WHEN THE SABBATH WAS OVER, AND  
THE FIRST DAY OF THE WEEK BEGAN.

Mary Magdalene, and the other Mary, the mother of James and Joses, sat too long by the tomb of their Lord, and Salome was too much engaged in another act of duty to him, to procure any spices before the sabbath commenced; but as soon as it was over on Saturday evening they joined together in purchasing their share of sweet spices, that they might be ready next morning to go and anoint his body, in concurrence with other pious women, who had on Friday evening prepared unguents for the same purpose.

S E C T I O N      III.

FIRST DAY OF THE WEEK, EASTER MORNING.

Mary Magdalene was not certain whether the body of her Lord was to continue or not in the sepulchre of Joseph, and was anxious that, wherever it was to rest, it should be treated with all imaginable respect.

When therefore, the sabbath being past,<sup>\*</sup> it began to dawn towards the first day of the week, but was yet not light, she and the other Mary set out, and taking Salome with them went, in the first instance, to see the sepulchre, and next, when the time suited, to anoint the body.

<sup>\*</sup> See Index of Texts; Matth. xxviii. 1.

Matth. xxviii.

Mark xvi.

Luke.

John xx.

1. And when the sabbath was past, Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James, and Salome, had bought sweet spices, that they might come and anoint him.

1. In the end of the sabbath, as it began to dawn toward the first day of the week, came Mary Magdalene, and the other Mary to see the sepulchre,

2. And very early in the morning, the first day of the week, they came unto the sepulchre

1. The first day of the week cometh Mary Magdalene early, when it was yet dark, unto the sepulchre,

But

But soon after they set out, behold, there was a great earthquake: for the angel of the Lord descended from heaven; and, being come down into the garden near enough to the sepulchre to be seen by the soldiers that guarded it, advanced slowly towards it, to give them a little time to retire from before him. And he came and rolled away the stone from the door; and the Holy One of God arose in a manner which no one of the Evangelists offers to describe.

The countenance of the angel was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow; and for fear of him they who watched did quake, and became as dead men.

That the entrance into the court of the sepulchre might not be obstructed, and the door of the tomb might be open to view, the angel rolled the stone on one side, and there sat upon it.

As soon as the consternation of the guards was a little abated, they were glad to flee from so majestic and terrifying a presence, and quitted the garden.

The sun was rising when the women drew near to the sepulchre. They then reflected on the great size of the stone that closed the tomb; and, expressing rather a wish than any immediate hope of assistance, said among themselves, Who shall roll us away the stone from the door of the sepulchre?

But when they were so nigh that they could see into the court, they saw that the door-way of the tomb was open; the stone being removed from its place.

Alarmed at this they stop short; and Mary Magdalene surmising that the body was taken away, and

Matth.



Matth. xxviii.

2. And behold, there was a great earthquake: for the angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled back the stone from the door, and sat upon it.

3. His countenance was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow.

4. And for fear of him the keepers did shake, and became as dead men.

Mark xvi.

at the rising of the sun.

3. And they said among themselves, Who shall roll us away the stone from the door of the sepulchre?

4. (And when they looked, they saw that the stone was rolled away) for it was very great.

Luke.

John xx.

and seeth the stone taken away from the sepulchre.

without

without staying to inquire further, runs to inform some of the apostles; leaving her two friends to watch by the sepulchre till her return.

They after a little pause, urged by their anxiety to know more about the body, ventured into the sepulchre: but they had scarce set foot within the court of it, when they saw an angel, under the appearance of a young man clothed with a long white garment, sitting upon the stone on the right side. And they were affrighted.

But the angel encouraging them said, Fear not ye; for I know that ye seek Jesus of Nazareth who hath been crucified: he is not here; for he is risen as he foretold: come forward and view the place where the Lord was laid. The women showing no disposition to advance nearer to the tomb, he added, Yet in this do as I order you. Go quickly to his disciples and tell them that he is risen from the dead, and deliver a message to them and to Peter in these words: "Behold he goeth before you into Galilee; there shall ye see him, as he said unto you." Observe that I have told you what you are to say to them.

As soon as the angel paused, the two women gladly embraced his order of going quickly. They fled out of the sepulchre with fear and great joy; but, their fear at first overpowering their joy, they were not able to tell as yet to those whom they saw of their friends what glorious tidings they had heard; not having courage to stop or speak. So great were their terror and amazement.

Mary Magdalene, being come to Simon Peter and to the other disciple whom Jesus loved, saith unto them in the name of her company, They have taken  
Matth.

Matth. xxviii.

Mark xvi.

Luke.

John xx.

2. Then she  
runneth,

5. And entering  
into the sepul-  
chre, they saw a  
young man sitting  
on the right side,  
clothed in a long  
white garment;  
and they were af-  
frighted.

5. And the an-  
gel answered and  
said unto the wo-  
men, Fear not ye:  
for I know that  
ye seek Jesus,  
which was cruci-  
fied.

6. He is not  
here: for he is  
risen, as he said.  
Come, see the  
place where the  
Lord lay.

7. And go quick-  
ly, and tell his  
disciples, that he  
is risen from the  
dead: And be-  
hold, he goeth  
before you into  
Galilee; there  
shall ye see him:  
lo, I have told  
you.

8. And they  
departed quickly  
from the sepul-  
chre, with fear  
and great joy;<sup>2</sup>  
and did run to  
bring his disciples  
word.

6. And he saith  
unto them, Be  
not affrighted: ye  
seek Jesus of Na-  
zareth, which was  
crucified: he is  
risen; he is not  
here: behold the  
place where they  
laid him.

7. But go your  
way, tell his dis-  
ciples and Peter,  
that he goeth be-  
fore you into Ga-  
lilee: there shall  
ye see him, as he  
said unto you.

8. And they  
went out quickly,  
and fled from  
the sepulchre; for  
they trembled,  
and were amazed:  
neither said they  
any thing to any  
man; for they  
were afraid.

and cometh to  
Simon Peter, and  
to the other dis-  
ciple whom Jesus  
loved, and saith  
unto them, They  
have taken away

<sup>2</sup> See Index of Texts.



away the Lord out of the sepulchre, and we know not where they have laid him.

Peter and John, hearing this, set out with all speed for the sepulchre. At first they ran both together. But the eagerness and activity of John soon carried him before Peter, and he came first to the sepulchre. And he, stooping down and looking into the tomb, saw the linen clothes or rollers lying without the body; but did not go in. Peter arrived quickly after; and, entering the tomb without hesitation, saw the linen clothes disposed in an orderly manner, and the napkin, that had been about the head, not lying with the linen clothes, but folded up as by one who had done it at his leisure, and placed in another part of the tomb. Then went in also that other disciple who came first to the tomb; and, when he reflected on these things, faith in the resurrection of his Lord dawned in his breast, arising purely from thoughts occasioned by the circumstances before him: for as yet they did not comprehend the meaning of the scriptures which signify that Christ should rise from the dead.

#### S E C T I O N IV.

##### EASTER MORNING.

The disciples then went away again unto their own home. Mary Magdalene came back to the sepulchre, following Peter and John as fast as she was able. If she found them there, or met them on their return, they had no intelligence to communicate to her that might relieve her anxiety. She therefore stood without the door of the tomb, but near  
Matth.

Matth.

Mark.

Luke.

John xx.

the Lord out of the sepulchre, and we know not where they have laid him.

3. Peter therefore went forth, and that other disciple, and came to the sepulchre.

4. So they ran both together: and the other disciple did out-run Peter, and came first to the sepulchre.

5. And he stooping down, and looking in, saw the linen clothes lying; yet went he not in.

6. Then cometh Simon Peter following him, and went into the sepulchre, and seeth the linen clothes lie;

7. And the napkin that was about his head, not lying with the linen clothes, but wrapped together in a place by itself.

8. Then went in also that other disciple which came first to the sepulchre, and he saw, and believed.

9. For as yet they knew not the scripture, that he must rise again from the dead.

10. Then the disciples went away again unto their own home.

11. But Mary stood without at the sepulchre,

it,

it, weeping. And as she wept she stooped and looked into it; and saw two angels in white, sitting the one at the head, the other at the feet, where the body of Jesus had lain. They said unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? She answered, Because they have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him. Reverence obliged her to return an answer to their question; but, possessed as her mind was with the object of her grief, their appearance quickly struck her as of "Forms excelling human;" and, withdrawing her eyes from the tomb, she turned herself back, and saw Jesus standing, but knew not that it was Jesus. He saith unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? Whom seekest thou? She, supposing him to be the gardener, saith unto him, Sir, if thou have borne him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will take him away. Jesus saith unto her, Mary. At this sound of his usual voice she turned herself, and saith unto him, Rabboni; which is to say, Master; and then threw herself down to embrace his feet. Jesus saith unto her, Detain me not now: the time of my ascension to my Father is not yet: but go and say to my brethren in my name, what I spoke to them in substance when we were last together, I ascend to my Father and your Father, and to my God and your God. See John xiv. 28. xvi. 28.

## S E C T I O N   V.

## EASTER MORNING.

Christ having risen from the grave in the early part of the morning, on the first day of the week,

<sup>1</sup> See Index of Texts; John xx. 17.



Matth.

Mark xvi.

Luke.

John xx.

weeping: and as she wept, she stooped down and looked into the sepulchre,

12. And seeth two angels in white, sitting, the one at the head, and the other at the feet, where the body of Jesus had lain.

13. And they say unto her, Woman, why weep-est thou? She saith unto them, Because they have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him.

14. And when she had thus said, she turned herself back, and saw Jesus standing, and knew not that it was Jesus.

15. Jesus saith unto her, Woman, why weep-est thou? whom seekest thou? She, supposing him to be the gardener, saith unto him, Sir, if thou have borne him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will take him away.

16. Jesus saith unto her, Mary. She turned herself, and saith unto him, Rabboni; which is to say, Master.

17. Jesus saith unto her, Touch me not: for I am not yet ascended to my Father: but go to my brethren, and say

showed

9. Now when Jesus was risen early, the first day

showed himself first to Mary Magdalene, whom he had dispossessed of seven dæmons.

He showed himself soon after to the other Mary and Salome. They had fled out of the sepulchre under impressions of terror at the sight of the angel. But his aspect and voice were full of benignity, and his tidings were blessed; and, as soon as they had power to make this reflection, serenity and joy gained the ascendant in their breasts. They then began to think of Mary Magdalene, who had parted from them with such sad apprehensions on both sides. Knowing that she had returned to the sepulchre, they became desirous of relating their own adventures to her, and of learning what her's had been. They therefore either waited near the gate of the garden, or went back part of the way, till they saw her hastening on that happy errand to the disciples, on which they were going; and the joyful meeting of the three dear friends was quickly crowned with greater felicity.

For, as they were going to tell the apostles what things they had heard and seen, Jesus himself met them, saying, All hail. And they came, and, as he graciously permitted them, held him by the feet, and worshiped him.

But, as their joy was not without trembling, Jesus said unto them, Be not afraid. Then repeating part of the angel's message to the apostles, with the endearing substitution of BRETHREN for DISCIPLES, he said, Go and tell my brethren that they go into Galilee; and there, as I promised them when we were last together, they shall see me.

Matth.

Matth. xxviii.

Mark xvi.

Luke.

John xx.

of the week,  
he appeared first  
to Mary Magda-  
lene, out of whom  
he had cast seven  
devils.

unto them, I af-  
cend unto my  
Father and your  
Father, and to  
my God and your  
God.

18. Mary Mag-  
dalene came and  
told the disciples  
that she had seen  
the Lord, and that  
he had spoken  
these things unto  
her.

9. And as they  
went to tell his  
disciples, behold,  
Jesus met them,  
saying, All hail.  
And they came  
and held him by  
the feet, and wor-  
shipped him.

10. Then said  
Jesus unto them,  
Be not afraid: go  
tell my brethren,  
that they go into  
Galilee, and there  
shall they see me.

\* See Index of Texts.

D

While



While these three women were hastening towards the apostles, the soldiers, who had retired from the sepulchre and garden, repaired, part to their superior officers, and part into the city to the chief priests, to exculpate themselves for having abandoned their post by a plain recital of all the things that had there happened to them.

The chief priests, having detained the soldiers, called in haste a council of the elders, in which it was determined to make no complaint nor testify any dissatisfaction at the conduct of the guard; but on the contrary to offer them a large sum of money, on condition they would spread abroad a rumor that the disciples of Jesus had come by night and taken an opportunity to steal away his body, while they were all fallen asleep. But because this was to confess themselves guilty of a capital offence, they had a further promise, that, if it should come to the ears of the governor, means would be found to pacify him and save them harmless.

The soldiers accepted the terms proposed by the council, and did as they were instructed. And the report which they were thus hired to propagate still passes current among the Jews.

## S E C T I O N VI.

### EASTER MORNING.

But to return to the history of the faithful women. Besides the three of whom we have been speaking, there was another Galilean company; who having prepared spices on Friday evening, and rested the

Matth.

Matth. xxviii.

Mark.

Luke.

John.

11. Now when they were going, behold, some of the watch came into the city, and shewed unto the chief priests all the things that were done.

12. And when they were assembled with the elders, and had taken counsel, they gave large money unto the soldiers,

13. Saying, Say ye, His disciples came by night, and stole him away while we slept.

14. And if this come to the governor's ears, we will persuade him, and secure you.

15. So they took the money, and did as they were taught: and this saying is commonly reported among the Jews until this day.

sabbath according to the commandment, were up at a very early hour on the first day of the week in order to fulfil their pious intentions of anointing the body.

The chief of these was Joanna wife of Chuza Herod's steward. But with her and her Galilean associates there were also some women of Jerusalem; whether actuated with the same devotion towards our Lord, or engaged by the others as better versed in the practice of anointing the dead.

The delays incident to the assembling of a large company from different parts of the city, and the slowness of their progress with the spices which they carried, occasioned them, notwithstanding the vigilance of some, to come so much later to the sepulchre than the other Three, that these were out of sight before they reached it.

On their arrival they found the stone rolled away from the tomb; but expressed no such surprize at the sight as the others had done; supposing it possible that some of their acquaintance might have been before them and gotten it removed.

But when they had entered in and examined the tomb, and found not the body of the Lord Jesus, nor any of their friends near to explain the matter, then indeed they were in great perplexity and concern. When, behold, two angels, in the form of men, stood by them in shining garments.

And as they were afraid, and bowed their faces in awe and reverence to the ground, the angels said to them, Why seek ye the living among the dead? This they said as in gentle reproof of their coming to seek for Christ in the tomb at a time when he had already  
Matth.



Matth.

Mark.

Luke xxiv.

John.

1. Now, upon the first day of the week, very early in the morning, they came unto the sepulchre, bringing the spices which they had prepared, and certain others with them.

2. And they found the stone rolled away from the sepulchre.

3. And they entered in, and found not the body of the Lord Jesus.

4. And it came to pass as they were much perplexed thereabout, behold, two men stood by them in shining garments :

5. And as they were afraid, and bowed down their faces to the earth, they said unto them, Why seek ye the living among the dead ?

showed

showed or was now showing himself conqueror of the grave to some of their companions. The angels added, He is not here, but is risen: and, finding these women less alarmed than those to whom the Resurrection had been first announced, said further,

Remember how he spake unto you while he was yet in Galilee, saying, The Son of man must be delivered into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and the third day rise again.

This prediction of our Lord had been uttered a considerable time before, and was then little understood; yet the women were collected enough to remember his words, and now to comprehend their meaning.

The message to the apostles having been sent by others, and by this time delivered, or ready to be delivered, the angels spoke no more. And the women, retiring with gladness and composure from the sepulchre, reported all the particulars of their vision to the Eleven, and, as they had opportunity, to all the residue of the disciples.

It was Mary Magdalene,

and Joanna, and Mary the mother of James, and other women with them, one of whom was Salome, that told these things unto the apostles; that is, laid before them the assurances and proofs they had jointly or severally received, that Christ was risen from the dead in his crucified body.

Matth.

Matth.

Mark xvi.

Luke xxiv.

John.

6. He is not here, but is risen.

Remember how he spake unto you, when he was yet in Galilee,

7. Saying, The Son of man must be delivered into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and the third day rise again.

8. And they remembered his words,

9. And returned from the sepulchre, and told all these things unto the eleven, and to all the rest.

10. It was Mary Magdalene,

10. And she went and told them that had been with him, as they mourned and wept.

and Joanna, and Mary the mother of James, and other women that were with them, which told these things unto the apostles.

But



But their words seemed to them as idle tales, and they believed them not; but still mourned and wept for the loss of their Lord, and their hopes in him as the Redeemer of Israel thus defeated.

Yet the women all averring that angels had appeared and spoken to them in the sepulchre, it had such effect on St. Peter, that he arose and ran thither a second time to see whether he could verify that part of their evidence by a sight of these angels. To this end no more was now necessary than to stoop down and look into the tomb. But the angels who had showed themselves unto the women having disappeared, he beheld only the linen clothes lying; and departed, wondering in himself at that which was come to pass, and unable to reconcile it with his own notions.

## S E C T I O N VII.

### AFTERNOON AND EVENING OF THE FIRST DAY OF THE WEEK, OR OF EASTER SUNDAY.

St. Peter was the first of the men, as we infer from St. Paul and St. Luke, by whom our Lord was seen after his resurrection. No particulars are given us of this appearance; but if it preceded all others to the men, it must have been before our Lord joined the two disciples going to Emmaus. It was probably after they left Jerusalem; it being evident that they knew nothing of it till their return.

Our Lord, having showed himself to an apostle, discovered himself next to two of his disciples, that  
Matth.

Matth.

Mark xvi.

Luke xxiv.

John.

11. And they, when they had heard that he was alive, and had been seen of her, believed not.

11. And their words seemed to them as idle tales, and they believed them not.

12. Then arose Peter, and ran unto the sepulchre; and stooping down, he beheld the linen clothes laid by themselves, and departed, wondering in himself at that which was come to pass.

1 Cor. xv. 4, 5.

And that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day according to the scriptures:

And that he was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve.

34. The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon.

seem

seem not to have been of the Eleven. It is certain that Cleopas was not; and he only is mentioned by name, as if he were the more considerable person. To Mary Magdalene Christ seemed, at first sight, as the gardener: to these he appeared in another form, as a stranger going from the city.

They had set out from Jerusalem, disconsolate like the rest, and were walking towards Emmaus, a village at the distance of about seven miles and a half from the city.

And in going they talked together of the life and doctrine and works of Jesus, so answerable to the glory of the Messiah; of his disgraceful death so little consistent with that character; and of the strange and improbable accounts given by the women of his return to life in his former body.

While they were thus conversing and reasoning, still leaning to the desponding side, Jesus himself, as one who had also come from the city, drew near and walked with them.

But his secret influence held their eyes from discerning him; that they might more freely open their thoughts to him, and he might have the more scope for instructing them.

And he said to them, May I know the subject of the conversation, in which you are so earnest, and with which you seem so deeply affected?

And one of them, whose name was Cleopas, made answer and said, Are you alone so great a stranger in Jerusalem, as not to know the things that have lately happened there, and from which you might well imagine the occasion of our grief?

Matth.



Matth.

Mark xvi.

Luke xxiv.

John.

12. After that, he appeared in another form unto two of them, as they walked, and went into the country.

13. And behold, two of them went that same day to a village called Emmaus, which was from Jerusalem about threescore furlongs.

14. And they talked together of all these things which had happened.

15. And it came to pass, that while they communed together, and reasoned, Jesus himself drew near, and went with them.

16. But their eyes were holden, that they should not know him.

17. And he said unto them, What manner of communications are these that ye have one to another; as ye walk and are sad?

18. And the one of them, whose name was Cleopas, answering, said unto him, Art thou only a stranger in Jerusalem, and hast not known the things which are come to pass there in these days?

And

And he said unto them, What things? They answered, The things that relate to Jesus of Nazareth, who was a prophet, mighty in deed and word before God and all the people :

And that the chief priests and our rulers have notwithstanding delivered him to be condemned to death, and by the power of the governor have crucified him :

But we, who were constant witnesses of his life and miracles, were persuaded, till this sad event took place, that he was the promised Redeemer of Israel. Nor is this the only source of our perplexity and distress. To-day is the third day since these things were done :

And this day certain women of our company, who were early at the sepulchre in which his body had been laid, have astonished and confounded our minds with their reports :

For not having found his body there, they came to us telling it; and also that they had seen a vision of angels, who assured them that he was alive :

Upon which some of those who associate with us went to the sepulchre, and with respect to the absence of the body found it to be so as the women had said. But they met with no angels there; and Him they did not see.

Thus they seem tacitly to have allowed the whole of the women's report to have been, that they had beheld not only angels, but our Lord himself.

And whether they would have proceeded or not to mention this also, Christ, who had suffered them to

<sup>1</sup> See Bp. Pearce's Commentary on the place.

Matth.

Mark.

Luke xxiv.

John.

19. And he said unto them, What things? And they said unto him, Concerning Jesus of Nazareth, which was a prophet mighty in deed and word, before God, and all the people:

20. And how the chief priests and our rulers delivered him to be condemned to death, and have crucified him.

21. But we trusted that it had been he, which should have redeemed Israel. And beside all this, to-day is the third day since these things were done.

22. Yea, and certain women also of our company made us astonished, which were early at the sepulchre:

23. And when they found not his body, they came, saying, that they had also seen a vision of angels, which said that he was alive.

24. And certain of them which were with us, went to the sepulchre, and found it even so as the women had said: but him they saw not.

show



show their unbelief, but did not need their information, then interposed,

And said, O inconsiderate, and slow of heart to believe what the prophets in various times and manners have spoken on this subject !

Was it not necessary for the fulfilling of the counsel of God declared in their prophecies that Christ should have suffered these things, and through sufferings should enter into his glory ?

And, taking occasion from the question he had proposed, he explained to them from Moses and all the succeeding prophets the scriptures in which he himself is predicted and foreshewn.

During this conversation they drew near to the place at Emmaus to which they were going: and there being an appearance in his gesture as if he would there take leave of them and go on, they pressed him to abide with them that night; observing that it was hastening towards sun-set, and but little of the day remained.

And he yielded to them, and turned in with them to their destined place of abode.

In this house a repast being prepared for them, our Lord acting as the master of the family, and according to his usual manner while he lived among them, took bread, and having pronounced a benediction on it brake and gave it to them.

At that instant the veil was removed from their eyes; and they saw clearly, that the stranger who had been instructing them, and whom they had hospitably entertained, was no other than Christ himself. But he, not staying then to receive the effusions of  
Matth.

Matth.

Mark.

Luke xxiv.

John.

25. Then he said unto them, O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken!

26. Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory?

27. And beginning at Moses, and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself.

28. And they drew nigh unto the village, whither they went: and he made as though he would have gone further.

29. But they constrained him, saying, Abide with us: for it is toward evening, and the day is far spent. And he went in to tarry with them.

30. And it came to pass, as he sat at meat with them, he took bread, and blessed it, and brake, and gave to them.

31. And their eyes were opened, and they knew him; and he vanished out of their sight.

their

their joy and veneration, withdrew himself immediately from their sight.

And they said one to another, How strange is it that we should not make this discovery sooner? For did we not feel ourselves affected with a certain heavenly delight, and did not our hearts burn within us, while he talked with us by the way, and while he opened to us the scriptures?

Let us hasten to comfort our friends, and make them sharers in our joy. And they rose up the same hour and returned to Jerusalem.

On their arrival, when it was now night, they found the apostles and some of their friends with them met together in a private manner for fear of the Jews, and for the same reason with the doors bolted:

Among whom they had no sooner gained admittance, than they were saluted with this voice of the company: The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon Peter.

After this joyful salutation they began to relate the things which had happened to themselves in going to Emmaus; and that he became known to them in the act of breaking bread.

While they were giving this account, the doors opening and closing again spontaneously, Jesus himself came and stood in the midst of them, and said to them, Peace be unto you.

But they who had not seen him till then, persuaded as they thought themselves of the truth of his resurrection, were surprized into their former doubts; and, supposing that they saw a spirit, were terrified and affrighted.

Matth.



Matth.

Mark.

Luke xxiv.

John xx.

32. And they said one to another, Did not our heart burn within us, while he talked with us by the way, and while he opened to us the scriptures?

33. And they rose up the same hour, and returned to Jerusalem, and found the eleven gathered together, and them that were with them,

34. Saying, The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon.

35. And they told what things were done in the way, and how he was known of them in breaking of bread.

36. And as they thus spake, Jesus himself stood in the midst of them, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you.

37. But they were terrified and affrighted, and supposed that they had seen a spirit.

19. Then the same day at evening, being the first day of the week, when the doors were shut where the disciples were assembled for fear of the Jews,

came Jesus and stood in the midst, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you.

E

He

He with a gracious look and voice said to them, Why are ye so troubled at the sight of me; and why do vain apprehensions arise in your hearts?

Behold my hands and my feet, and be satisfied that it is I myself. Handle me, and be convinced that a true substantial body is before you; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have.

Having said this, he showed them his hands and feet, through which the nails had gone, and his side pierced with the spear.

But while their exultation at beholding him restored to them from the grave was such that they doubted of its reality, to give further proof of his bodily presence he said, Have you here any meat?

And they gave him a piece of a broiled fish and of a honeycomb.

And he took it and did eat before them.

Then was the joy of the disciples complete, when they were thus satisfied that they beheld the Lord himself.

Then said Jesus to them again, Peace be unto you. As my Father hath sent me, so send I you.

And, not to take leave of them without tokens of his sanctifying influence, and some view of the authority with which he even now invested them, having said this, he breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost.

Whose soever sins ye remit in my name, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained.

Matth.

Matth.

Mark.

Luke xxiv.

John xx.

38. And he said unto them, Why are ye troubled? and why do thoughts arise in your hearts?

39. Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself. Handle me, and see: for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have.

40. And when he had thus spoken, he shewed them his hands and his feet.

41. And while they yet believed not for joy, and wondered, he said unto them, Have ye here any meat?

42. And they gave him a piece of a broiled fish, and of an honeycomb.

43. And he took it, and did eat before them.

20. And when he had so said, he shewed unto them his hands and his side.

Then were the disciples glad, when they saw the Lord.

21. Then said Jesus to them again, Peace be unto you. As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you.

22. And when he had said this, he breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost:

23. Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained.



## SECTION VIII.

THE DAYS BETWEEN THE FIRST DAY OF THIS  
WEEK AND THE FIRST OF THE SUBSEQUENT,

O R

BETWEEN EASTER-DAY AND THE SUNDAY  
FOLLOWING.

This memorable day being over, Cleopas and his companion were not remiss on the next and succeeding days to inform the residue in what manner they had seen the Lord, and how long he had conversed with them. Nor were the others, who with them had seen him on the evening of his resurrection, less zealous to maintain the certainty of it among their friends. But their success was not altogether such as they had reason to expect. There were who continued in their incredulity; and among them an apostle.

Thomas, called Didymus, one of the Twelve, was not with them when our Lord appeared among them.

They therefore, and the others who were present on that occasion, assured him with one voice that they had undoubtedly seen the Lord. But he insisting positively that they could have seen only a spirit, which they must have mistaken for a real body, replied further in these terms, Except I shall see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, and thrust my hand into his side, I shall not believe.

Matth.

Matth.

Mark xvi.

Luke.

John xx.

13. And they  
went and told it  
unto the residue :

neither believed  
they them.

24. But Thomas, one of the twelve, called Didymus, was not with them when Jesus came.

25. The other disciples therefore said unto him, We have seen the Lord. But he said unto them, Except I shall see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, and thrust my hand into his side, I will not believe.

SECTION

## SECTION IX.

THE FIRST DAY OF THE FIRST WEEK AFTER  
THE RESURRECTION.

Our Lord seems to have left his disciples, both those who had and those who had not seen him, to their own reflections and converse with each other for six days.

But after that time he vouchsafed them another visit.

On the octave of his resurrection his apostles, Thomas being then with them, and other disciples, were again assembled with the same precaution of fastening the doors; when Jesus came and stood in the midst, as they sat at meat, and with his former salutation said, Peace be unto you.

Then directing his speech to Thomas, and showing that he was well acquainted with his incredulity and mode of expressing it, he said to him, Reach hither thy finger, and behold my hands; and reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into my side: and be not faithless, but believing.

Thomas said not probably to make the offered scrutiny. He felt conviction: and with warmth of devotion answered, My Lord, and my God; "I am abundantly convinced: Thou art indeed my Lord, the very same that was crucified; and I acknowledge thy almighty power in having triumphed over death, and adore thee as my God."

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Clarke's Paraphrase on the place.

Matth.



Matth.

Mark xvi.

Luke.

John xx.

14. Afterward  
he appeared unto  
the eleven,

as they sat at  
meat,

26 And after  
eight days, again  
his disciples were  
within, and Tho-  
mas with them.  
Then came Jesus,  
the doors being  
shut, and stood  
in the midst, and  
said, Peace be  
unto you.

27. Then saith  
he to Thomas,  
Reach hither thy  
finger, and behold  
my hands; and  
reach hither thy  
hand, and thrust  
it into my side:  
and be not faith-  
less, but believ-  
ing.

28. And Tho-  
mas answered and  
said unto him,  
My Lord and my  
God.

Jesus

Jesus saith unto him, in words that touched the rest of the incredulous, Thomas, because thou hast seen me thou hast believed : blessed are those of my disciples, who, not having seen me themselves, have believed on the testimony of faithful witnesses.

Thus did our Lord mildly upbraid them with their unbelief and hardness of heart, because they believed not them who had seen him after he was risen.

### SECTION X.

THE APPEARANCE OF CHRIST IN GALILEE, PROMISED BEFORE HIS DEATH, AND ON THE MORNING OF HIS RESURRECTION.

Christ had not yet showed himself to all his disciples: and they who had not had this happiness were to be blessed with the sight of him: for which purpose a time and place were appointed where they might assemble without fear of the rulers at Jerusalem, and behold him with greater advantage.

Then the eleven apostles left the city and went into Galilee to a certain mountain, where Jesus, probably at his late interview with them, had appointed to meet them and those who were worthy to have notice of the appointment, whether inhabitants of Judea or Galilee.

And when they beheld him, first at some distance, all felt an awe at his appearance, and bowing down worshiped him. But there were some of the company who, not having seen him till then since his resurrection, had their doubts of his bodily presence.

Matth.

Matth. xxviii.

Mark xvi.

Luke.

John xx.

and upbraided them with their unbelief, and hardness of heart, because they believed not them which had seen him after he was risen.

29. Jesus saith unto him, Thomas, because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed: blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed.

16. Then the eleven disciples went away into Galilee, into a mountain where Jesus had appointed them.

17. And when they saw him, they worshipped him: but some doubted,

For



For their entire satisfaction he came near, and conversed with them. And that they might be excited to trust in him, no more under the dominion of death, but ever living to protect and reward his faithful; and yet might not be instigated by zeal or ambition, as they still expected the restitution of the kingdom to Israel, to act in his cause of their own accord, but might repose themselves on him to order all things in due time and manner; he declared to them the plenitude of his power and authority, saying

All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth.

## S E C T I O N   X I.

### THE DISCIPLES STILL IN GALILEE.

After these things, and when our Lord had now appeared to one or more or the whole body of his disciples, he was pleased to show himself to a certain number of them at the sea of Tiberias, which the other evangelists call the sea or lake of Galilee. And that he might at the same time signify his care and providence over them, and the success with which he would crown their future ministry pursued as he directed, he showed himself to them with these circumstances:

The rest of the disciples having retired for a while to their several homes, there were still together Simon Peter, and Thomas called Didymus, and

\* See Index of Texts; Matth. xxviii. 18.

Matth. xxviii.

Mark.

Luke.

John xxi.

18. And Jesus  
came, and spake  
unto them,

saying, All power  
is given unto me  
in heaven and in  
earth.

1. After these  
things Jesus shew-  
ed himself again  
to the disciples at  
the sea of Tibe-  
rias; and on this  
wise shewed he  
himself:

2. There were  
together Simon  
Peter, and Tho-  
mas called Didy-  
mus, and

Nathanael

Nathanael of Cana in Galilee, and the sons of Zebedee, James and John, and two other of the disciples.

Simon Peter says to these, I will go a fishing. They answer him, We will go with thee; and immediately they all set out and went aboard a small vessel; but caught nothing during the whole night.

And at the very first dawn of day, Jesus stood on the shore opposite to their vessel; the disciples not discerning who he was; and calling to them said, Young men, have you any thing eatable on board? Their answer was, No.

He saith to them, Throw the net on the right side of the vessel, and there ye will have better success. They cast therefore, and such was the difference between this and their former attempts, that now they were not able to draw up the net for the multitude of fishes inclosed in it.

The disciple whom Jesus loved, struck with this unexpected success, and calling to mind what he had seen once before, Luke v. 4—6. says to Peter, It is undoubtedly the Lord, whose directions we have been following. Simon Peter, satisfied of the truth of his remark, made haste to gird about him his fisher's coat, that he might present himself to his Lord in the most decent dress that his situation allowed; and casting himself into the sea swam to land. The other disciples came in the vessel which was then about a hundred yards from the shore, dragging the net after them with the fishes in it.

When they were landed, they saw on the shore a fire of coals, and fish lying on the coals, and bread ready provided.

Matth.



Matth.

Mark.

Luke.

John xxi.

Nathanael of Cana in Galilee, and the sons of Zebedee, and two other of his disciples.

3. Simon Peter saith unto them, I go a fishing. They say unto him, We also go with thee. They went forth, and entered into a ship immediately; and that night they caught nothing.

4. But when the morning was now come, Jesus stood on the shore: but the disciples knew not that it was Jesus.

5. Then Jesus saith unto them, Children, have ye any meat? They answered him, No.

6. And he said unto them, Cast the net on the right side of the ship, and ye shall find. They cast therefore, and now they were not able to draw it for the multitude of fishes.

7. Therefore that disciple whom Jesus loved saith unto Peter, It is the Lord. Now when Simon Peter heard that it was the Lord, he girt his fisher's coat unto him (for he was naked) and did cast himself into the sea.

8. And the other disciples came in a little ship (for they were not far from land, but as it were two hundred cubits) dragging the net with fishes.

9. As soon then as they were come to land, they saw a fire of coals there, and fish laid thereon, and bread.

Jesus

Jesus calls to them, Bring some of the fish that ye have taken. Now Simon Peter had returned on board the vessel; and with his assistance the net being drawn on shore was found to contain a hundred fifty and three large fishes: yet notwithstanding their number and weight it did not break.

Jesus saith unto them, Come and take your morning refreshment; and with this encouragement they drew nearer to the fire of coals, while he was standing opposite, at a little distance from it. If it were now light enough to distinguish his features, yet reverence forbade them to raise their eyes to look on him, or to ask who he was, well assured that he was no other than the Lord. Jesus therefore cometh up to them, as they were standing at the fire of coals, and taking of the bread and fish distributes them to the company in his usual manner.

This is now a third time that Jesus showed himself to his disciples after that he was risen from the dead; not absolutely the third time, but the third recorded in this Gospel.

Their repast being ended, Jesus says to Peter standing by him at a little distance from the company, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me more than these love me? Peter modestly answers, Certainly, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee. He saith unto him, Feed my lambs. Repeating the question, he says, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me? Peter returns the same modest answer, Certainly, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee. He saith unto him, Feed my sheep. Jesus says to him the third time, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me?

Matth.

Matth.

Mark.

Luke.

John xxi.

10. Jesus saith unto them, Bring of the fish which ye have now caught.

11. Simon Peter went up, and drew the net to land full of great fishes, an hundred and fifty and three: and for all there were so many, yet was not the net broken.

12. Jesus saith unto them, Come and dine. And none of the disciples durst ask him, Who art thou? knowing that it was the Lord.

13. Jesus then cometh, and taketh bread, and giveth them, and fish likewise.

14. This is now the third time that Jesus shewed himself to his disciples, after that he was risen from the dead.

15. So when they had dined, Jesus saith to Simon Peter, Simon son of Jonas, lovest thou me more than these? He saith unto him, Yea, Lord: thou knowest that I love thee. He saith unto him, Feed my lambs.

16. He saith to him again the second time, Simon son of Jonas, lovest thou me? He saith unto him, Yea, Lord: thou knowest that I love thee. He saith unto him, Feed my sheep.

17. He saith unto him the third time, Simon son of Jonas, lovest thou me?

Peter



Peter grieved at the remembrance of his late denials, to which he supposed the same question thrice put to him alluded, yet conscious of the sincerity of his heart, answered, Lord, thou knowest all things; thou knowest that I love thee. Jesus saith unto him, Feed my sheep.

Our Lord having thus impressed upon the mind of St. Peter, that love of him was to be shown to him in the members of his mystical body, and by care and watchfulness over his flock, then prepares him to expect and "endure hardship as a faithful soldier of Jesus Christ;" and says, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, when thou wast young thou girdedst thyself, and walkedst whither thou wouldest: but when thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldest not. This he said foresignifying by what kind of death his faithful apostle should glorify God: and having thus spoken he said to him, Follow me.

Peter, who was hereafter to follow his Lord to a death upon the cross, now followed his steps, observing him to move on a little. But turning about he saw the disciple also following whom Jesus loved; who also had leaned on his breast at the late paschal supper, and had said, Lord, who is he that betrayeth thee? Peter seeing him follow said to Jesus, Lord, and how shall this man close his life? Jesus answered, If it is my will that he continue on earth till I come, what is that to thee? Follow thou me.

This saying gave rise to an opinion that prevailed among the brethren, that that disciple should not taste death, but with those who shall be found

Matth.

Matth.

Mark.

Luke.

John xxi.

Peter was grieved, because he said unto him the third time, Lovest thou me? And he said unto him, Lord, thou knowest all things: thou knowest that I love thee. Jesus saith unto him, Feed my sheep.

18. Verily, verily, I say unto thee, When thou wast young, thou girdedst thyself, and walkedst whither thou wouldst: but when thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldst not.

19. This spake he, signifying by what death he should glorify God. And when he had spoken this, he saith unto him, Follow me.

20. Then Peter turning about seeth the disciple whom Jesus loved following; (which also leaned on his breast at supper, and said, Lord, which is he that betrayeth thee?)

21. Peter seeing him saith to Jesus, Lord, and what shall this man do?

22. Jesus saith unto him If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? Follow thou me.

23. Then went this saying abroad among the brethren, that that disciple should not die:

F

alive

alive at the coming of Christ be changed. But this was grounded on a misapprehension of the words of Christ; for neither did he say, that he meant his last coming; to judgement; nor, whatever advent he had in view, did he promise that St. John should survive to behold it: he only said, If it is my will that he continue on earth till I come, what is that to thee?

This is the disciple who having had the strongest proofs, that the evidence of his senses and the demonstration of the Spirit may yield, concerning the Word of God that was made flesh and dwelt among us, and having borne testimony to this Word through a course of various trials in a long life, hath now committed these things to writing: and the church of God is assured that his testimony, and that which he has written of these things attested by him, are true.

## S E C T I O N XII.

INSTRUCTIONS OF CHRIST TO HIS DISCIPLES  
AFTER THEIR RETURN TO JERUSALEM; AND  
HIS ASCENSION.

Our Lord said to his disciples, The things that ye have seen accomplished in me are the very things, which, as I taught you while I was yet with you, were of necessity to come to pass in order to fulfil all that my Father had preordained and caused to be written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the psalms, concerning me.

Matth.



Matth.

Mark.

Luke xxiv.

John xxi.

yet Jesus said  
not unto him,  
He shall not die:  
but, If I will that  
he tarry till I  
come, what is  
that to thee?

24. This is the  
disciple which  
testifieth of these  
things, and wrote  
these things: and  
we know that his  
testimony is true.

44. And he said  
unto them, These  
are the words  
which I spake un-  
to you, while I  
was yet with you,  
that all things  
must be fulfilled  
which were writ-  
ten in the law of  
Moses, and in the  
prophets, and in  
the psalms, con-  
cerning me.

At the same time he opened and enlightened their minds by the concurring influence of his Holy Spirit, that they might understand the scriptures which he was expounding to them.

And he said, Thus, as you see, it hath been written by appointment of Heaven; and therefore thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day :

And that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem :

And ye are my chosen witnesses of these things; of my doctrine, precepts, and works; of my sufferings, resurrection, and exaltation.

Go ye therefore; and, having first preached the Gospel to the house of Israel, proclaim it throughout the world, and teach it to every nation and person that will hear it ;

Instructing them to turn from their idols and vanities to the true God; and baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost ;

Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you to believe and do. He that believeth with a true faith, Jew or Gentile, shall be saved : but he that rejecteth the Gospel shall be condemned :

And behold, I shortly send upon you the gifts and graces of the Holy Spirit promised by the Father in the Beloved.

And these signs of his presence shall accompany my faithful : In my name they shall cast out devils ; they shall speak with new tongues ;

Matth.

Matth. xxviii.

Mark xvi.

Luke xxiv.

John.

19. Go ye  
therefore and  
teach all nations,

baptizing them in  
the name of the  
Father, and of  
the Son, and of  
the Holy Ghost ;

20. Teaching  
them to observe  
all things what-  
soever I have  
commanded you:

15. And he  
said unto them,  
Go ye into all the  
world, and preach  
the gospel to eve-  
ry creature.

16. He that  
believeth, and is  
baptized, shall be  
saved ; but he  
that believeth not,  
shall be damned.

17. And these  
signs shall follow  
them that believe ;  
In my name shall  
they cast out de-  
vils ; they shall  
speak with new  
tongues ;

45. Then open-  
ed he their un-  
derstanding, that  
they might un-  
derstand the scrip-  
tures,

46. And said  
unto them, Thus  
it is written, and  
thus it behoved  
Christ to suffer,  
and to rise from  
the dead the third  
day :

47. And that  
repentance and  
remission of sins  
should be preach-  
ed in his name  
among all nations,  
beginning at Je-  
rusalem.

48. And ye are  
witnesses of these  
things.

49. And be-  
hold, I send the  
promise of my  
Father upon you :

They



They shall take up serpents ; and, if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them ; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover :

But go not again from Jerusalem, till ye shall be endued from on high with this power to fulfil your mission :

And if the extraordinary gifts and graces that will be bestowed upon you, having answered their purpose, shall cease, yet my care over my faithful, and my blessing upon them, shall never fail. Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. Amen.

Christ, having conversed with his disciples from time to time for forty days, during which he spoke to them of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God, Acts i. 3.

At the end of those days assembled them together ; and led them out to that part of mount Olivet, which is in the district of Bethany ; and there lifted up his hands and blessed them.

And, while he was blessing them, he was parted from them ; and, a cloud receiving him out of their sight, he was carried up into heaven ; and sat on the right hand of God.

Upon which, having paid their adoration to him, they returned to Jerusalem with great joy :

And there, according to his late injunction, humbly waiting for the promise of the Father, and the baptism of the Holy Spirit, they employed their time in frequenting the temple, and in praising and blessing God.

Matth.

Matth. xxviii.

Mark xvi.

Luke xxiv.

John.

18. They shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover.

but tarry ye in the city of Jerusalem, until ye be endued with power from on high.

And lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. Amen,

19. So then, after the Lord had spoken unto them,

he was received up into heaven, and sat on the right hand of God.

50. And he led them out as far as to Bethany, and he lifted up his hands, and blessed them.

51. And it came to pass, while he blessed them, he was parted from them, and carried up into heaven.

52. And they worshipped him, and returned to Jerusalem with great joy:

53. And were continually in the temple, praising and blessing God. Amen.

But

But, having received power by the Holy Spirit coming upon them, in due time they went forth, and preached Christ unto the uttermost parts of the earth; the Lord working with them, and confirming the word, which he enabled and emboldened them to declare, by signs following. Amen.

The Lord Jesus did many miracles in the presence of his disciples, and after his passion showed himself alive to them by many infallible proofs, that are not recorded in the book of the Gospels. But out of his innumerable works, an accurate detail of which would oppress the minds of readers in general, these have been selected and written by eye-witnesses and ministers of the word, that on sure grounds ye might believe that Jesus is the promised Messiah, the Son of God in such a sense as no created being can be; and that believing in him as the one Mediator between God and man ye might have life through his name.

Matth.



Matth.

Mark xvi.

Luke.

John xx.

20. And they went forth and preached every where, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following. Amen.

30. And many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of his disciples, which are not written in this book :

31. But these are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God ; and that believing ye might have life through his name.

xxi.

25. And there are also many other things which Jesus did, the which if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written. Amen.

OBSERVATIONS

MEMORANDUM

TO : [illegible]  
FROM : [illegible]  
SUBJECT : [illegible]  
[The following text is extremely faint and largely illegible due to the quality of the scan. It appears to be a memorandum detailing a project or administrative matter.]

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

[ 75 ]

O B S E R V A T I O N S

O N T H E

T W E L V E P R E C E D I N G S E C T I O N S .



1871

OF THE NEW YORK

OF THE

TWENTY-THIRD

## O B S E R V A T I O N S

ON

## S E C T I O N I.

AND

## THE TRANSACTIONS OF FRIDAY EVENING.

**T**HE women named in this part of the Gospels, besides the Virgin Mother of our Lord, are these:

Mary Magdalene, whose name occurs in all the Gospels, and except John xix. 25. is constantly mentioned first:

Mary the mother of James the less and Josès, supposed to be Mary the wife of Cleopas, the sister of our Lord's mother, John xix. 25. and, if so, the Evangelists all speak of her:

Salome, the mother of Zebedee's children; compare Matth. xxvii. 56. with Mark xv. 40. St. Mark only has given us her name:

Joanna, the wife of Chuza, Herod's steward, mentioned by St. Luke only, viii. 3. and xxiv. 10.

The

The blessed Virgin Mother of Christ having been recommended by him, while she stood by his cross, to the protection of St. John, the mother of this his beloved disciple seems pointed out by that recommendation as the proper person to attend and support her in the extremity of her grief, and to be with her at his abode when he had conducted her thither: and it is further probable that Salome bore this part in the melancholy offices of that evening, because St. Matthew mentions only the two Maries, with whom she is usually joined, as sitting over against the tomb after the interment: St. Mark also mentions only these two on that occasion: whence we presume that she was not with them when they followed the body to the sepulchre. The readiness and zeal which she showed, in acting with them in every instance of paying honour to their Lord, may assure us that she would not have deserted them in this, unless she had been equally engaged in testifying her duty to him by attending his disconsolate mother; who, according to Mons. Toinard and other able harmonists, was led away from the cross just as the darkness began at the sixth hour, or noon.

St. Matthew and St. Mark say that Joseph of Arimathea went to Pilate to beg the body of Jesus "when the even was come,"<sup>1</sup> probably very soon after our Lord expired on the cross; which was about three in the afternoon. A Jewish evening was reckoned from about that time, and lasted a considerable while after the sun was down. The term by which

<sup>1</sup> Matth. xxvii. 57. Mark xv. 42.



an evening of such extent is expressed by three of the Evangelists is *Opsia*. In St. Luke it does not occur. He describes the earlier part of their evening by some periphrasis, and the division of it that began at sun-set by its proper name among the Greeks, *Hespera*.<sup>1</sup>

“The words of St. Luke concerning Joseph of Arimathea, ‘The same had not consented to the counsel and deed of them,’<sup>2</sup> leave no doubt in my mind that he was a member of the great Sanhedrim; and I think the same thing is intimated in the title given him by St. Mark of an ‘honourable counsellor’.”

Jo. Christopher Wolfius on Mark xv. 43.

When Joseph had begged the body of Jesus, he took it down from the cross, and wrapped it in a fine linen cloth, which St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, call in the original *Sindon*: Matth. xxvii. 59. Mark xv. 46. Luke xxiii. 53. It was a fine loose vestment; a different thing from the linen which St. John terms *Othonia*.<sup>3</sup> St. Augustin dwells particularly on the difference between them<sup>4</sup> As the soldiers had stript our Lord of his raiment, and crucified him naked, except about the waist, his body was received from the cross into the *Sindon*. But the *Othonia* were bandages or rollers, in which it was

<sup>1</sup> Index of Texts; Luke xxiv. 29.

<sup>2</sup> xxiii. 51.

<sup>3</sup> Professor Ward's Dissertations on the Sacred Scriptures, Vol. I. Dissert. xxxv. p. 145.

<sup>4</sup> Consent of the Evangelists, B. iii.

wound

wound when it was laid in the sepulchre; where the Sindon, unless it was converted into them, seems not to have been left. St. John mentions no more than the "linen clothes," the Othonia, and "the night-cap that had been about his head," as lying in the tomb, when he and St. Peter examined it, John xx. 5, 6, 7.

The form of the sepulchre merits our consideration; without a general idea of which, the things that are related of the women at it, and the appearances of the angels to them, cannot be distinctly understood.

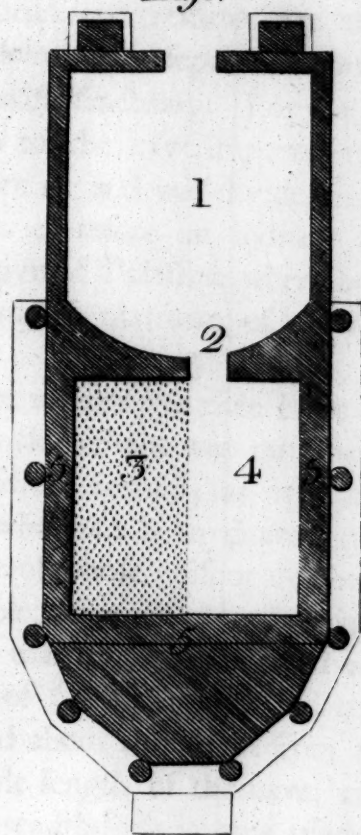
The Rabbins prescribe that a Hebrew sepulchre should have a court before it, through which you are to pass to the door that leads into the cave or proper place of sepulture. They direct the court to be made six cubits, or nine feet square.<sup>1</sup>

There is an area or portico of the prescribed dimensions before that which is now called the holy sepulchre;<sup>2</sup> and which seems not ill intitled to the name which it has long borne. For though in the reign of the emperor Adrian the sepulchre of Christ was buried under a vast mount of earth, and on this mount was set up an object of pagan worship in despite to the Christians; yet the place was pointed out to them by these very ensigns of idolatry standing over it: and when this mountain of earth, with all that had been erected over it, was, about two centuries after, cleared away by order of Constantine the great, then, as Eusebius expresses it, "the cave, the holy of holies, obtained a similitude of

<sup>1</sup> Nicolai de Sepulchris Hebræorum, Lib. iii. cap. xi. p. 178.

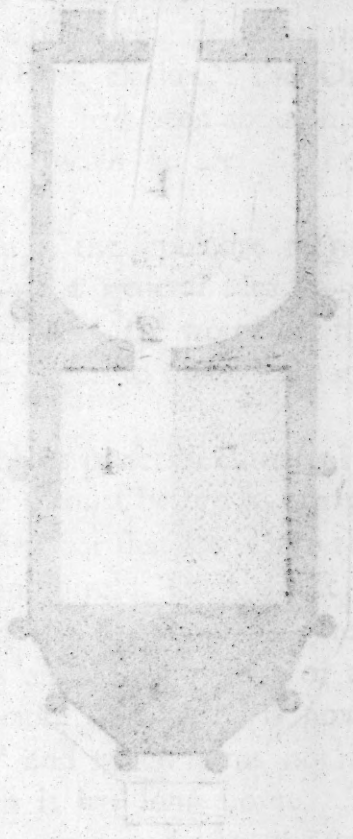
<sup>2</sup> Sandys' Travels, p. 129.

PLAN,  
*of the Holy Sepulchre.*  
*According to Cetericus and Sandys.*  
*East.*



1. The Area, or Portico, Six Cubits, or nine feet in the square part.
2. Door way into the Cave, or Tomb, three feet high from the floor by two wide.
3. North side of the Tomb, where the Body of Christ is supposed to have lain, over which space is a Table, by way of Altar, that goes the whole length of the Tomb, and occupies rather more than half its breadth. The Tomb is about eight feet long, and seven wide.
4. The other part of the Tomb, where three or four may stand or kneel.
5. The Rock, cased with Marble within and without; and adorned with ten pillars without.





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our Saviour's resurrection:"<sup>1</sup> which words allude not only to the burial and resurrection of the blessed body that had lain in this sepulchre, but also to the form of the Jewish sanctuary. For the title of holy of holies given to the cave imports, that it had a holy place before it, and was divided in two like the sanctuary. It is therefore an indirect testimony of Eusebius, a native of Palestine where he lived many years, concerning the platform of our Lord's sepulchre.

A magnificent temple was then built over it; and much of the rock without was cut away, to make room for decorations around; as is related by Cyril of Jerusalem,<sup>2</sup> who had been deacon under Macarius; in the time of whose episcopate the decorations were made. The inside of the cave is cased with marble; and a marble table is placed over the part where the body of Christ is supposed to have lain. The table, raised about three feet from the ground, extends the whole length of the cave, and takes up full half of its breadth.<sup>3</sup> It is now used as an altar; and its width would make it necessary to protect one end of it by contracting the side of the doorway upon which it abutted. This entrance seems to have been originally a square aperture of three feet, and in the middle of the division between the cave and portico. It is now but two feet wide, and nearer to one side than the other. Possibly this also was done while Macarius was bishop.

<sup>1</sup> See Index of Persons, &c.

<sup>2</sup> See Index of Persons, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Sandys' Travels, p. 130.

Since that time the city of Jerusalem and the temple of the holy sepulchre have undergone various fates. "Yet notwithstanding these changes and revolutions, it is highly probable that a faithful tradition has always been preserved of the several places, that were consecrated as it were by some remarkable transaction relating to our Saviour and his apostles." And if the sepulchre of Christ was found in the days of Constantine, no local memorial of him seems to have had a fairer chance of not being lost ever since. The temple built over it may have been laid in ruins; but the sepulchre had still its signatures, by which it might be discovered within the compass of those ruins.

We have read what Eusebius intimates concerning our Lord's sepulchre: let us now examine the form of it by the Evangelists. St. Matthew tells us that the angel "rolled back the stone from the door and sat upon it;"<sup>2</sup> St. Mark, that the women saw this angel, or "young man clothed in a long white garment,"<sup>3</sup> sitting on the right side. But they did not perceive him till they were entered into the sepulchre. He had therefore not rolled the stone out it, but to one side of it: yet he had rolled it from the the door. The door therefore was in a partition that divided the sepulchre in two; and the whole of the inward division was not visible to those who stood in the outer. The angel said to the women, "Come, see the place where the Lord lay."<sup>4</sup> They were therefore standing where they did not command a sight

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Shaw's Travels, p. 334.

<sup>3</sup> xxviii. 2.

<sup>3</sup> xvi. 5

<sup>4</sup> Matth. xxviii. 6.



of that place: yet they were within the sepulchre; for as soon as he had finished his speech to them, "They went out quickly and fled from the sepulchre."<sup>1</sup> So St. Mark says; and so also St. Matthew, rightly understood. For his words, "They departed quickly from the sepulchre,"<sup>2</sup> mean evidently, They departed quickly out of the sepulchre; as the same mode of expression is translated in other passages.

Thus the real, as the reputed, sepulchre consisted of a place of sepulture, and an inclosed court or area; as did often the sepulchres of the Greeks.<sup>3</sup>

The Sepulchre is called in the original Mnema or Mnemeion by all the Evangelists. But St. Matthew has besides another word on this occasion, in the Greek Taphos. And his use of this word carries such marks of discrimination; and he is so little apt to deal in a variety of terms, when one will precisely answer his intent; that it may justly be concluded he here employs two, because one of them does sometimes express his meaning more exactly than the other, and that they are distinct in his acceptation of them, as much as with us a church and its chancel. What was in the Taphos was within the Mnemeion: but what was in the Mnemeion was not therefore within the Taphos. The Jewish rulers, who would take what they judged the most certain measures to retain the body of Christ in their possession, requested a guard for the Taphos.<sup>4</sup> The Ta-

<sup>1</sup> Mark xvi. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Matth. xxviii. 8. See Index of Texts.

<sup>3</sup> See under Sepulchre in Potter.

<sup>4</sup> Matth. xxvii. 64.

phos they secured by sealing the stone.<sup>1</sup> The two Maries sat over against the Taphos on Friday evening.<sup>2</sup> The women went to visit the Taphos, as the great object of their care, early on Sunday morning.<sup>3</sup> In this therefore the body had been laid. But because they had not been in it when they saw the angel, and as soon as he had done speaking to them fled away, they are said to have "departed quickly out of the Mnemeion."<sup>4</sup> Now if the two words are of different application in St. Matthew, it is plain there was a difference in the places to which they are applied. And this may be added to the proofs that the sepulchre was divided into two parts; of which the outer and inner were not made for the same purpose. Agreeable to this is St. Augustin's account of this sepulchre, as will be seen in the sequel. And in the same manner are the form of the sepulchre, and the place of the angel sitting upon the stone, represented by Dr. Whitby in his Notes on Mark xvi. in answer to Objection the second.

In depositing the body of our Lord, Joseph of Arimathea was attended by Nicodemus; who, notwithstanding the scandal of the cross, still considered Jesus as a prophet come from God; and, being desirous of testifying a high reverence for him, brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes to the sepulchre, about an hundred pound weight. These seem to have been

<sup>1</sup> Matth, xxvii. 66.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. 61.

<sup>3</sup> xxviii. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Ib. 8.

dry spices;<sup>1</sup> with which, or rather with a part of which, they wound the body in the linen rollers.

The antient usage of the Jews at grand funerals was to lay the corpse in a bed filled with sweet odours and spices; 2 Chron. xvi. 14. which, or a part of which, were burned when it was buried; Ib. and xxi. 19. and Jeremiah xxxiv. 5. The same custom seems to have continued among them in the days of our Saviour. At the funeral of Aristobulus the young high priest a great quantity of spices was provided by Herod the great.<sup>2</sup> And when his own body was carried forth to the sepulchre, in the close of a pompous procession followed five hundred of his domestics bearing spices.<sup>3</sup> As his body was already prepared and adorned for burial, his son Archelaus must have designed the spices either to be deposited in the vault, or burned at the interment, or for both uses.

“ If we may believe what the Jews say in Juchasin, when Gamaliel (at whose feet St. Paul sat) the son of Simeon, the grand child of Hillel, was buried, Onkelos burnt seventy pounds of frankincense upon his sepulchre.” Patrick on 2 Chron. xvi. 14. The bishop gives no credit to the story. But, whether true or not, it shows the opinion of the Jews who related it, that the custom of burning spices at funerals continued among them in the age of Gamaliel, and was not confined to royal personages.

<sup>1</sup> See Index of Texts; John. xix. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Josephus, Antiquities, B. xv. C. iii. § 4.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. Jewish war, B. i. C. xxxiii. § 9.

Whatever.



Whatever was the use of the myrrh and aloes which Nicodemus brought, they could not be designed for the anointing of the body. The Galilean women who "followed after, and beheld the sepulchre and how his body was laid," must certainly have known what had been done, and yet were extremely solicitous to prepare unguents and spices, that they might go and anoint him.

By the peculiar disposition of Heaven our Lord suffered on a day succeeded immediately by the Jewish sabbath, and in a place where an honourable disciple of his had a sepulchre near, so lately hewn in the rock, that no one had ever been laid in it. These things decided at once where the body should be deposited, when leave to dispose of it had been obtained by Joseph. His own new sepulchre was nigh at hand. Had it been at a distance, the case would have been altered. The followers of our Lord would have been inclined to carry his body first to the house of some friend; where, they would naturally suppose, they could perform the ceremonies previous to interment with more honourable tokens of respect. But while they had been studying to complete them with order and decorum, the sabbath would have come on: and then wherever the body was, it must have remained till that day of rest was over, and the third day was begun, on which he was to rise from the dead. A providential concurrence of circumstances compelled them to take it directly from the cross to a place that best suited the great event of the third day; and where in the mean while the Jewish rulers had access to it, and before the beginning

ning of that day set a guard upon it, as a testimony against themselves.

Again : What was requisite to fulfill the scripture, "With the rich man was his tomb,"<sup>1</sup> was ordained to be done, and no more. The concluding ceremonies not needful, and, though piously intended, perhaps improper in this high and singular instance, were prevented by the intervening of the sabbath.

It is plain that the obsequies were considered as unfinished, not only from the zeal of the women to procure spices, but from the words of St. John literally translated : "Then took they the body of Jesus" and wound it in linen clothes with the spices, as "the manner of the Jews is to prepare and adorn" for burial," xix. 40. The Jews are the Jews of rank and opulence;<sup>2</sup> and the word, which we render to bury, has the same meaning here, as where it occurs again in the original, Matth. xxvi. 12. "For in that she hath poured this ointment on my body, she did it for my burial;" that is, she hath done it to prepare and adorn my body for burial.<sup>3</sup>

The incompleteness of the funeral solemnities was an incitement to some of the devout women to set out so very soon on the first day of the week "to see the tomb." When it could be opened, and their friends were assembled, they were provided to join in anointing the body. But their first object was to be early on the spot; and to see and be satisfied,

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Lowth's Translation of Isaiah liii. 9.

<sup>2</sup> See Grotius on John vii. 11. See Index of Texts; John xix. 40.

<sup>3</sup> See Index of Texts; John xix. 40.

that

that whatever was done should be done in a manner answerable to their pious and affectionate reverence for their Lord.

By thus hastening to the sepulchre they became quickly acquainted with the angel's glad tidings: which was a blessing to themselves, and an advantage to the disciples. For though they treated the words of the women "as idle tales," yet the intelligence had an effect upon their minds, Luke xxiv. 22. and when the proof was brought home to them by our Lord's appearance to them the same day, they were prepared to see him with less surprize and perturbation, and therefore to be more clearly convinced of the reality of his resurrection.

But to return to Friday evening. The Galilean women who had attended the body of our Lord to the sepulchre, and seen how it was laid, then went back to the city to prepare spices and ointments before the commencement of the sabbath, that they might be ready for use on the morning after it. To prepare these spices was probably little more than to purchase them, according to a remark of Dr. Lardner: \* for in so populous a city as Jerusalem, where there was a constant and often a sudden demand for them, they would be sold ready compounded. Short therefore as the time was before the sabbath began, it would be sufficient for this purpose. And that the women did so employ it is manifest from St. Luke, whose words literally translated run thus :

\* Lardner's Observations on Dr. Macknight's Harmony of the four Gospels, so far as it relates to the History of our Saviour's Resurrection. Lond. 1764. 4to. p. 19.



And women also which came with him from Galilee followed after, and beheld the sepulchre and how his body was laid; and, being returned, prepared spices and ointments. And they rested indeed the sabbath day according to the commandment: but on the first day of the week, very early in the morning, they went unto the sepulchre, carrying the spices which they had prepared.

Luke xxiii. 55, 56. xxiv. 1.

On which words Grotius observes, that nothing can be clearer than it is from Luke, that the spices were purchased by these women on the evening before the sabbath, and not after it.

But this, which is so clear of the Galilean women in general, is to be understood with an exception of three of them; Salome, Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James. It is probable, as hath been shown, that Salome was not in the procession to the sepulchre; and it is no less probable that the two Maries did not quit it with the other Galilean women. St. Matthew says, "And when Joseph had taken the body, he wrapped it in a clean linen cloth, and laid it in his own new sepulchre, which he had hewn out in the rock; and he rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulchre, and departed. And [or But] Mary Magdalene was there, and the other Mary, sitting over against the tomb," xxvii. 59, 60, 61. The words seem to imply an opposition between the departing of Joseph, and the abiding of the two women; and that this sitting over against the tomb was subsequent to the closing of

of it with a great stone. This solemn act could not force them away from the object of their grief. They still lingered as near to it as they could, sitting on the ground. And in this posture of mourning they continued, till reverence for the sabbath obliged them to retire. But it was then too late to buy spices, or transact any business that evening. This seems a natural account of their delay to prepare their contingent of spices. However, the fact is certain, as we shall see presently, that they purchased none till the sabbath was past.

## OBSERVATIONS

## O B S E R V A T I O N S

O N

## S E C T I O N II.

A N D

## THE TRANSACTIONS OF SATURDAY.

**S**T. Matthew, from whom we had only learnt hitherto that the death of our Lord was at the time of the passover, informs us xxvii. 62. on what day of the week he suffered, by calling the next to it "the day that followed the day of the Preparation." The day that followed the Preparation was the Sabbath; and it has been accounted a difficulty with some that he does not entitle it by its proper name. But we may presume he did not esteem a Jewish sabbath more worthy of notice than the day of Christ's crucifixion; of which he has thus given us the date with more certainty. At the season of the passover there might be a sabbath that was not a seventh day.<sup>1</sup> But the Parasceve or Preparation

<sup>1</sup> Beza on Luke vi. 1. Ainsworth on Lev. xix. 3. Sir Isaac Newton on Daniel, p. 162. Dr. Whitby also on Matth. xxviii. 1. supposes two sabbaths in this paschal week.

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was become as settled a name for the sixth day of the week, as Friday is with us. At the same time he adheres to the Euphemism, the usual moderation of his language. To have said that the chief priests and Pharisees went to Pilate to transact such business with him on the sabbath day might have looked like a design of charging them with a breach of their own principles. This is not the style of St. Matthew. When he is to show in preference to whom Barabbas was saved from dying, he does not say that Barabbas was a murderer or a robber; he calls him only "a notable prisoner," xxvii. 16. Actions recorded by him, that are great and good, are related simply, and left to speak for themselves: and when they are of an opposite character, so much only is told of them as cannot be omitted.

The tomb in which the body of Christ was deposited was "a new sepulchre," "wherein never man before was laid." There was therefore but one body to be examined; a body that might be distinguished without difficulty or doubt from every other fresh corpse: from others lately dead by bearing the recent marks of crucifixion; and from the two crucified thieves, whose legs were broken, by having all its bones intire, John xix. 32, 33. By these circumstances the rulers that went to the sepulchre might assure themselves, that they found there the very body which they wished to guard for a time. And it is evident they were satisfied that it was in the sepulchre. They themselves allowed thus much by the report which they instructed the soldiers to spread the day following "Say ye, His disciples came by night  
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and stole him away, while we slept," Math. xxviii. 13. For this report carried a plain acknowledgement that the body had been in their custody.

It was not necessary to the views of the Jewish rulers to set a guard upon the sepulchre till towards the close of the second day. The prediction of our Lord was, that he would rise again the third day; and till it was approaching, they would give themselves no concern about his body. The absence of it from the tomb before the commencement of that day would rather falsify the prediction than show the truth of it. They therefore repaired thither a little before the beginning of the third day; and having inspected the tomb, and sealed the stone that closed the way into it, left the place in the custody of the guard. The sealing of the stone was designed by them, to prevent any collusion between the soldiers and the friends of Christ. But it answered another purpose which they little intended: it secured the most holy body from the wanton insults of these soldiers, if any of them had been tempted to open and enter a tomb full of odors.

It is probable the rulers wished to keep the affair of the guard a secret during that night: but, whether by design or accident, it certainly remained so to the followers of our Lord. The going of the women by themselves to the tomb the next morning, without the least apprehension, as their conduct shows, of meeting with any impediment, except from the stone that closed it, is a proof that they knew nothing of the soldiers: which might easily happen to them at that conjuncture. During the passover

passover there was a continual throng and bustle of multitudes, who resorted to Jerusalem from all countries: and to prevent tumults among them guards were stationed in proper places and regularly relieved.<sup>1</sup> At such a season the marching of a band of soldiers was no great object of attention and inquiry; and least of all to the disciples of Christ, absorbed in grief, and seeking, as much as possible, to hide and indulge their melancholy in retirement.

The Sabbath being over on Saturday evening, Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, and Salome, hastened to prepare spices for the next morning. Grotius thought it clear from St. Luke, whose words were lately quoted, that the women prepared spices before the Sabbath began. It was as clear to Lucas Brugensis, that they bought them when it was past. He rests his opinion on the words of St. Mark;<sup>2</sup> which let us now hear in a translation as literal as may be: "And Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of Josès beheld where he was laid. And when the sabbath was past, Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James, and Salome, bought sweet spices that they might go and anoint him." xv. 47. xvi. 1.

Any tolerable judge of the original, that had no hypothesis to serve, would determine from the turn of this sentence, that "They bought," not "They had bought," was the intended sense of it. "They bought" [emerunt] is the rendering of the antient Latin, called the Vulgate; which was strenuously

<sup>1</sup> Josephus, Antiquities, B. xx. C. v. § 3.

<sup>2</sup> Lucas Brugensis on Luke xxiii. 56.



defended by a learned critic early in the last century as the just grammatical rendering: and his vindication of it was the more remarkable, as he was disposed to think "They had bought" more agreeable to historical truth.\* But the history requires no forced construction. No more is necessary than to interpret St. Luke, whose words are indefinite, of the Galilean women in general; St. Mark of those only whom he names. And till it has been proved necessary that all the women should purchase their spices at the same time, this is a fairer treatment of the Evangelists, than to say either that St. Luke meant Saturday evening, when he plainly described the evening before, or St. Mark Friday, when he spoke as plainly of the evening after, the Sabbath.

\* Joannis Boissii Veteris interpretis cum Beza aliisque recentioribus Collatio; on Mark xvi. 1.

## OBSERVATIONS

## O B S E R V A T I O N S

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## S E C T I O N III.

A N D

THE EARLIER TRANSACTIONS OF SUNDAY  
MORNING.

**I**T was stated in Section the first, and shown in the Observations upon it, that on Friday evening the two Maries did not retire with the other Galilean women from the sepulchre, but staid by it as long as religiously they might; and that probably Salome was not present at the interment, engaged in another office of piety towards her Lord. It was shown under the last Section that these three women jointly purchased spices for the anointing of the body; and that they purchased them on Saturday evening. On both occasions they acted without the concurrence of the other women: which is some presumption that they did not join them in going to the sepulchre the next morning. But the full proof that the women went thither in two companies, and that the less consisted only of Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, and Salome, will be seen

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to most advantage, when several things relating to each party have been first considered. At present we must take the liberty of disposing matters as if this proof were already made.

St. Matthew, who had noted the piety of the two Maries in sitting by the tomb on Friday evening, takes no notice that they made any preparations on Saturday evening. On resuming their story on Sunday morning, he says only that they set out very early to see the sepulchre; and, in haste to introduce the angel descending to roll away the stone, he does not even stay to inform us that Salome made a third in their party.

St. Mark mentions this instance of the devotion of these three women towards their Lord, that they carefully provided spices for the anointing of his body. But even he does not say that they took these spices along with them. And it falls in more exactly with St. Matthew's account to suppose they did not.

They were to proceed from Salome's house.<sup>1</sup> But in going from it they were to part with the Virgin Mother of Christ; and when they imagined they were about to perform the last office to his body, they might wish, out of tenderness to her, to keep their preparations for this mournful task out of her sight; and might privately order their spices to follow in due time, while they went on "to see the sepulchre."

Our Translators, who here speak of the women as *coming* to the sepulchre, do in several texts render the same word of the original to *go*:<sup>2</sup> and of this double

<sup>1</sup> See the map of Jerusalem, and what relates to this matter, in Observations on Sect. VI.

<sup>2</sup> See Index of Texts; Matth. xxviii. 1.



meaning of it a learned and accurate critic, Erasmus Schmidius, gives instances from the most approved Greek authors; to which many more might be added, were it needful in so plain a case. He translates Matth. xxviii. 1. "As it began to dawn towards the first day of the week *went* Mary Magdalene and the other Mary to see the sepulchre." The same sense he gives to the word, Luke xxiv. 1. and John xx. 1. and in this he is justified by St. Mark; with whom "Early-in-the-morning" (in Greek one word) is synonymous to the fourth watch, consisting of the three hours immediately before the rising of the sun, and ending at it. So he uses the word, xiii. 35. "Ye know not when the master of the house cometh, at even, or at midnight, or at the cock-crowing, or in the morning:" where the last word is the same in the original that is here rendered "Early-in-the-morning." Nor does he, nor I believe any writer of the New Testament, ever apply it to a part of the day that does not fall within these limits. Now he speaks of Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, and Salome, as arriving at the sepulchre at the rising of the sun.<sup>2</sup> With him therefore "very Early-in-the-morning" cannot mean the time at which they came thither; it can only signify when they *went* from their respective homes. And thus we must understand the same term in the corresponding places of the other Evangelists.

The proper sense of "Early-in-the-morning" determines pretty nearly at what time our Lord arose from the dead. St. Mark says that he rose "early;"

<sup>1</sup> See Index of Texts; Mark xvi. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

that is, "Early-in-the-morning." But the women set out "very Early-in-the-morning;" and therefore before he was risen: and when they came to the sepulchre at the rising of the sun, they found it open. He rose therefore in the interim between their setting out and their arrival. And in this time the resurrection is placed by St. Matthew.

Some, who contend it was much sooner, point the words of St. Mark in this manner:

"Now when Jesus was risen, early the first day of the week he appeared first to Mary Magdalene." xvi. 9.

They refer the word "early" to the time, not of his resurrection, but of his appearance to Mary Magdalene.

"Early" in this ninth verse is the same word that is translated in verse the second "Early-in-the-morning:" and, if we have rightly explained it as used by St. Mark, it denotes a time of the day that must have expired before Mary Magdalene saw the Lord. She got to the sepulchre at the rising of the sun; seeing it open she ran to fetch Peter and John; and, following them back, staid after they had examined the tomb and were gone again. She still kept weeping for some little time before the Lord discovered himself to her. While all this was doing, the sun must have been up some little time;<sup>1</sup> and consequently our Lord did not appear to her "Early-in-the-morning." The common punctuation of the sentence must therefore stand; which is not only more natural, but yields a more important sense. In this view it points out the day of the week, and the time

<sup>1</sup> See Index of Texts; Mark xvi. 2.

of day, when Christ rose from the dead. And who does not wish rather to be assured of these dates, than to know precisely the time when he appeared first to Mary Magdalene? We may conclude that St. Mark designed to inform us of that which was of the greater consequence to the christian world; and may dismiss the other construction with the censure past upon it by a learned author: "There is no good reason, and much less any necessity, for it."

3. St. Matthew says of the angel, that having descended from heaven "He came and rolled back the stone from the door:" which seems to intimate that he came down into the garden at some little distance from the sepulchre, and then advanced slowly and majestically towards it,<sup>2</sup> that he might give the soldiers, who would look upon him as a divinity, an opportunity of retiring from before him. In rolling the stone from the door, he rolled it not directly forward, but obliquely to one side of the sepulchral court: for when the women approached it, they saw quickly that the tomb was open. The aperture of it was therefore not intercepted from their view by this large stone: and when they entered the court they beheld the angel sitting; that is, sitting upon the stone; "on the right side."

4. In the angel there appeared such dignity and terror, that the soldiers "did shake, and" for a while "became as dead men." As soon as they had recovered themselves a little, and saw the angel still

<sup>1</sup> Suiceri Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus; under the word *Ἀνάστασις*. pag. 311.

<sup>2</sup> See Index of Texts; Matth. xxviii. 2.



at the sepulchre, they would undoubtedly hasten away from his presence, and quit the garden. It is not to be inferred from the words of the angel to the women, "Fear not ye," that they were still there, when these words were spoken. YE and such pronouns, according to the genius of the Greek language, generally imply a contradistinction, but not always between persons or parties both present.<sup>1</sup> St. Chrysostom, who should have understood the force of his own language, places it between the women and the crucifiers of Christ: "It is not for you to fear but for those who crucified him."<sup>2</sup> Not the least intimation is given, that the women were alarmed at an appearance of armed men in approaching the sepulchre. But it is said, that while they were going from it, "some of the watch came into the city, and showed unto the chief priests all the things that were done;" Matth. xxviii. 11. which words import, that while the women were going to inform the apostles, the soldiers were coming, or already come, into the city to the chief priests; and must therefore have left the sepulchre some time. The appearance of the angel was quickly followed by the resurrection of Christ; and this it has been shown was while the women were on their way to the sepulchre.

5. When the three women named by St. Mark, and who, as we must assume for the present, were the whole party which he is speaking of, drew near, "they said among themselves, Who shall roll us

<sup>1</sup> See Index of Texts; Matth. xxviii. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Chrysostom on Matth. xxviii. 5. pag. 546. Ed. Savil.

away the stone from the door of the sepulchre?" xvi. 3. The words seem expressive of a passionate wish under the form of a question: as a speech of David, 2 Sam. xxiii. 15. "Who will give me to drink," is understood and translated, "Oh that some one would give me to drink of the water of the well of Bethlehem!"<sup>1</sup> They had set out early to visit the tomb, and no doubt to indulge themselves in weeping by it, till their friends arrived. If they could compass to enter it, and mourn over the body of their Lord, it would be a still higher gratification of their sorrow: and to express a desire of this sad satisfaction, however small their immediate hope of attaining it might be, was natural in those whose affection and grief were so great. On approaching, "They saw that the stone was rolled away," as St. Mark expresses it, xvi. 4. and as the words of St. John concerning Mary Magdalene may be translated, "She seeth that the stone was taken away from the sepulchre."<sup>2</sup> This she and her friends might perceive, if the entrance into the court and that into the tomb were nearly opposite, without seeing the stone itself, or the angel sitting upon it, though he should have exerted no power to render himself a while invisible.

Mary Magdalene alarmed at seeing the tomb open, and thence concluding that the body had been removed, ran to inform St. Peter and St. John; and she ran by herself; John xx. 2.

If her two companions had gone with her, being under the same uncertainty, and feeling the same

<sup>1</sup> See Index of Texts.

<sup>2</sup> See Index of Texts; John xx. 1.

anxiety about the body, they would undoubtedly have come back with her; and then she and they continuing together must have been informed of Christ's resurrection by the same means and at the same time. But she first knew that he was risen by his appearing to her; Mark xvi. 9. John xx. 14. they from the angel whom they saw in the sepulchre; Matth. xxviii. 6. Mark xvi. 6. whom if she also had seen, she could not presently after have complained with tears in her eyes, "They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him;" John xx. 13. or have said to Christ himself, while she thought him to be the gardener, "Sir, if thou have borne him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will take him away;" Ib. 15. These speeches show, that she had then had no intelligence that he was risen. It was therefore in her absence from her friends that they saw the angel; and since he gave the women the first notice of the resurrection, they had seen him before her return to the sepulchre. This appears further, because the two apostles came thither and went home again without knowing any thing of the angel or his tidings, and therefore had not conversed with the women to whom he showed himself. They were already gone and fled away to some distance, when the two apostles got to the sepulchre; and that was before Mary Magdalene's return to it.

In this manner therefore the events fell out. When Mary Magdalene ran to St. Peter and St. John, her two companions staid at the sepulchre to keep watch by it till she should return with assistance to examine further. But their suspense grew painful to them;  
and



and solicitude to know whether the body was really removed or not overcame their dread of going into the sepulchre by themselves. They ventured into it, saw the angel who assured them that Christ was risen, and then hurried away. When they were gone, came the two apostles, entered and inspected the tomb, and went home again. Mary Magdalene, who had returned to the sepulchre as fast as she was able to follow them, continued there weeping for the absence of the body, till our Lord turned her sorrow into joy by manifesting himself to her.

St. Matthew, without mention of Salome, speaks only of the two Maries as going to the sepulchre; and it may be asked, would his words have been "And the angel answered and said unto the women," if only one of the women named by him was then present? This I think need not stumble us, if we attend to his manner of relating facts; how much he often omits that is not essential to his main design; the circumstances conducive to which he selects with a masterly but sparing hand. The announcing of the resurrection to the women, and through them to the disciples, was the same whether Mary Magdalene was present or not to hear the angel declare it. The proof to herself and her testimony to others were still good, that Christ was risen with his real body, if she saw him with the other women, and was permitted to embrace his feet. And that this was the case I think St. Matthew gives us to understand. What was peculiar to her was separable from his great subject, and, if I may so call it, an Episode that could not be introduced without trespassing on that

that brevity, which he, and, I may add, St. Mark, prescribed to themselves. Alluding therefore to circumstances which his plan did not allow him to recite, he said, and said with strict verity, "The angel answered and said unto the women;" two of them being then present.

St. Mark tells us, that the women in fleeing from the sepulchre "trembled and were amazed; neither said they any thing to any man;" xvi. 8. Doubtless he had his eye upon some disciples of Christ whom they passed in this manner; but he does not intimate who they were. Mr. West is of opinion,<sup>\*</sup> and his opinion well considered appears to be founded in truth, that they were St. Peter and St. John running to the sepulchre, and followed by Mary Magdalene. It is not necessary to suppose that the two women met these their friends directly. If they were a little wide of them, yet so as to see them, it is sufficient. Now if there was any cover of trees or shrubs that was nigh, the frightened women would naturally take that way, in order to be out of sight of the sepulchre as soon as possible. The shortest path to it would be the object of the others. The two parties were hurrying contrary ways, and for different reasons alike unwilling to be delayed. In these circumstances the two women might catch a transient sight of their friends, without presence of mind or courage to call and speak to them. We must suppose them to have been still in their devious and shaded track, when the two apostles returned home.

Mr. West observes, that St. Mark seems to apologize for the silence of these women by ascribing it

<sup>\*</sup> West on the Resurrection, p. 171.

to their fright and confusion. But their silence had needed no excuse, unless they had seen some of those to whom the angel had charged them to tell without delay, and to St. Peter in particular, what they had seen and heard.

## OBSERVATIONS



## O B S E R V A T I O N S

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## S E C T I O N IV.

A N D

THE EARLY TRANSACTIONS OF SUNDAY  
MORNING.

**I**N the Observations on the last Section an argument was founded on this circumstance relating to Mary Magdalene, That she ran to the two apostles without having seen the angel in the sepulchre, or being in the least informed that Christ was risen. It was also supposed that she was by herself, when our Lord first discovered himself to her. But this ground, on which a plain reader of the Gospels would allow us to proceed as safe footing, is to be made good against expositors of eminence.

They hold, that Mary Magdalene and the women that accompanied her to the sepulchre went into it together; that they there saw the angel or angels who assured them that Christ was risen; that they went thence in a body to the two apostles, and then by the mouth of Mary Magdalene made this complaint to them, " They have taken away the Lord  
out

out of the sepulchre, and we know not where they have laid him."

On this statement of the matter the women did not believe that the person whom they saw in the sepulchre was more than man, or that his words deserved to be credited.

But is this consistent with the gospel accounts of them? which are, that on entering the sepulchre they saw a young man sitting on the right side, clothed in a long white garment, and were affrighted; that, as soon as he had done speaking to them, they fled out of the sepulchre trembling and amazed; and departing with fear and great joy did run to bring the apostles word. Whence was their great fear, but because they were satisfied that they had been standing in the presence of an angel? or if we may ascribe their fear to their surprize at the unexpected sight of a person in the sepulchre, whoever he might be, yet whence was their great joy? This could arise only from a persuasion that what had been declared to them was true, and that "the Lord was risen indeed." This is the word meant by St. Matthew, as the passage evinces, when speaking of the women who had fled from the sepulchre he says, "And they did run to bring his disciples word," Matth. xxviii. 8. Their fear was transient; their joy kept improving; and it is not possible that they should express it to St. Peter, St. John, or any other of the apostles, by saying, "They have taken away the Lord out of the sepulchre, and we know not where they have laid him." This is the language not of gladness but of sorrow; and when Mary

Magdalene

Magdalene used it, we must account for it, either by admitting that she had not been with her friends in the sepulchre when they saw the angel, or else by supposing that the effects of the same vision on her and them were surprizingly different. But if we observe her behaviour in two instances nearly allied to this, we shall perceive that she was as discerning as they, and to the full as composed; and therefore as little likely to have been distrustful and incredulous, if she had been present when the angel appeared to them.

The two instances are these :

“ Mary stood without at the sepulchre, weeping; and as she wept, she stooped down, and looked into the sepulchre, and seeth two angels in white, sitting, the one at the head, and the other at the feet, where the body of Jesus had lain. And they say unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? She saith unto them, Because they have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him. And when she had thus said, she turned herself back.” John

xx. 11—14.

We have no reason to imagine that these angels were a more striking sight than the angel sitting on the right side. Yet she, who is supposed to have disregarded him, discerned instantly, notwithstanding her flowing tears, what *these* were; as her behaviour to them shows. She answers their question respectfully; and then, not thinking it permitted to gaze upon them, withdraws her eyes, and turns herself back with that awe and reverence, which made the



the other women soon after "bow down their faces to the earth," when two angels stood by them in shining garments.<sup>1</sup>

Again :

"And when she had thus said, she turned herself back, and saw Jesus standing, and knew not that it was Jesus. Jesus saith unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? whom seekest thou? She, supposing him to be the gardener, saith unto him, Sir, if thou have borne him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will take him away. Jesus saith unto her, Mary. She turneth herself and saith unto him, Rabboni; which is to say, Master. Jesus saith unto her, Touch me not<sup>2</sup>; for I am not yet ascended to my Father: but go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend to my Father and to your Father, and to my God and your God.

Mary Magdalene came and told the disciples, that she had seen the Lord, and that he had spoken these things unto her." John xx. 14—18.

When our Lord, on the evening of the same day, stood in the midst of his disciples, who then acknowledged that "He was risen indeed and had appeared unto Simon," they were nevertheless terrified and affrighted, and supposed they had seen a spirit.<sup>3</sup> But as soon as he addressed himself to Mary Magdalene with his usual voice, she recognized him

<sup>1</sup> Luke xxiv. 5.

<sup>2</sup> See Index of Texts, ver. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Luke xxiv. 37.

as restored to life, and fell down with joy and transport to embrace his feet; and then hastened away with full assurance of belief to inform the apostles. And hence we may fairly judge, that if she had seen the angel in the sepulchre with her friends, she would have harboured no doubt of his dignity and truth.

The scheme which we have been considering resting on the supposed incredulity of the women, and this charge against them being done away by the best authority, we abide by our late reasonings concerning them. Several other difficulties with which that scheme is embarrassed are thus escaped. Where for instance would it allow us to place the appearance of Christ to the women when he met them, saying, All hail? It was surely after they had gone together to the two apostles, complaining that the body of the Lord was taken away: and yet, as it is fixed by St. Matthew, it was not long after they were got out of the sepulchre and going on with great joy. Shall we then, to adjust matters to this description, send them into the sepulchre a second time? and while we do not admit them to have believed what the angel had there told them, shall we suppose them, on entering it again, to have been filled with great joy in believing what no one then told them? To say the truth, the expedient of making the same women go twice into the sepulchre is not countenanced by the Gospels. No one of them hints at any such thing, or suggests a reason why they who had seen the angel and believed his words should return to "seek the living among the dead."

But was Mary Magdalene alone when our Lord  
first

first appeared to her? The question seems answered as soon as we consider the place and time of the appearance. The place was close by the sepulchre: the time, when her female friends and after them the two apostles were gone away; and when there is no reason to imagine, that any one of those to whom Christ saw fit to manifest himself was left on the spot but she only.

But let us once more bring in view a passage of St. Mark:

“Now when Jesus was risen early the first day of the week, he appeared first to Mary Magdalene, out of whom he had cast seven devils.” xvi. 9.

This looks like a plain proposition. But there are of the learned who regard it as one of those passages, of which the seeming is not the real sense. The meaning, they say, is, that the first in order of the appearances of Christ was that at which Mary Magdalene was present; but not, that she only was present at it, for that other women were with her: and that this may be held very consistently with St. Mark; it being an allowed rule of interpretation, that the Evangelist who names but few persons does not therefore exclude more.

But, in applying this rule to any particular case, we ought to have some warrant of the Gospels for enlarging the number specified, if we would be considered as explaining not making the history.

If St. John mentions only Mary Magdalene as going early on Sunday morning to the sepulchre, we may safely say, that others went with her; because



cause we have the authority of St. Mark. But by what Evangelist are we supported in affirming that others were with her, when our Lord first appeared to her? St. Matthew, as we shall see presently, says nothing concerning this appearance. St. Luke does not speak of any one of his appearances to the women: and on the face of St. John's narrative we naturally conclude, that he is describing an appearance to Mary Magdalene alone. But if we will not admit this to be sufficient proof that she was then by herself, let St. Mark be allowed to interpret his own meaning by his context:

He mentions three women by name out of the company of Galilean women that beheld the crucifixion on Friday. He speaks of the same three as buying spices together on Saturday evening, and as going to the sepulchre together on Sunday morning. But, after a few verses relating to the events at the sepulchre, he suppresses the names of two of them, and tells us, that, when Jesus was risen early the first day of the week, he appeared first to Mary Magdalene; and he adds a circumstance that he had omitted in naming her three times before, that it was the Mary out of whom our Lord had cast seven devils. Why are our eyes here directed to one only, to whom Christ had been especially gracious? St. John's silence concerning the women that went with her to the sepulchre is no parallel case. He had never mentioned them. St. Mark, having mentioned them, then suddenly drops their names. The Evangelist, who names few, may not exclude more: but he who names a number, and then, discontinuing

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the names of all but one, relates a circumstance of that one in which she received the highest honour, does in just construction appropriate this honour to her.

We may now assign a probable reason why St. John takes no notice of the other women. He purposed to relate certain events at which they were not present; and if he had said that they went with Mary Magdalene to the sepulchre, it had been requisite to show by what means she and they came to be separated. This would have been a digression from his intended subject, which would have left less room in a short narrative to dwell on some interesting particulars not recorded in any preceding Gospel.

It remains to be proved, that St. Matthew does not speak of the appearance of Christ mentioned by St. John. If there was only one to the women, as they seem to think whom we are opposing, Mary Magdalene could not have seen it by herself. But if there were two, we might presume even on this circumstance, that she was alone at the former; the history of the resurrection showing it to be not probable, that our Lord appeared twice to the very same company within so short a space.

Now St. Matthew says, that the women having fled out of the sepulchre with fear and great joy, and running to bring the disciples word, were met by our Lord; who permitted them to embrace his feet, and sent a message to his apostles by them :

<sup>1</sup> Matth. xxviii. 8—10.

St. John, that Mary Magdalene having withdrawn her eyes from looking into the tomb, and turning herself, saw Jesus standing by her; who quickly made himself known to her, and sent a message to the apostles by her also.\*

In St. Matthew, the women certainly met him at some distance from the sepulchre. In St. John, Mary Magdalene beheld him close by the tomb. They were rejoicing, she weeping. He discovered himself to her, and addressed himself to them in very different manners; and the messages which he sent to his apostles by her and them were totally distinct. These circumstances draw such a line of discrimination betwixt the two appearances, that they could scarce be more plainly distinguished.

Of these two appearances St. John describes evidently that, which St. Mark had called the first and mentioned very briefly. The other had been related with its circumstances by St. Matthew. And whatever had been so related was very rarely repeated by St. John. In the beginning of the Observations on the next Section will be found a probable proof, that he purposely broke off the story of Mary Magdalene, as soon as he came to the point of time when St. Matthew resumed it. He had therefore been speaking of an appearance prior to that in St. Matthew: and every view of the subject assures us, that it was an appearance to Mary Magdalene only.

As she was not with her two friends when they beheld the angel in the sepulchre, nor they with her when she saw the Lord close by it; the evidences of

\* John xx. 14—18.



his resurrection, which she and they laid before the apostles, were in this respect quite distinct from each other: the use of which remark will be more fully seen when we come to discuss a difficulty resulting from Luke xxiv. 10.

St. John says of himself, that, on his arrival at the sepulchre, "He stooping down saw the linen clothes lying."<sup>1</sup> He says soon after of Mary Magdalene, "As she wept, she stooped down and looked into the sepulchre."<sup>2</sup> If the sepulchre of Christ was the same or of the same structure as that which has long been reputed his sepulchre, it was necessary to stoop down in order to look into the cave or inner part of it; for the lintel of the door-way is but three feet above the level of the pavement. After St. Peter had been in the cave, St. John went in also, and says, "And he saw, and believed."<sup>3</sup> He tells us what he saw: "The linen clothes lying, and the napkin that had been about his head not lying with the linen clothes, but wrapped together in a place by itself."<sup>4</sup> But what did he believe? Some say, He believed what Mary Magdalene had told him, that the body had been taken away. But if this was the amount of his belief, there was little occasion to speak of it. The cave was a small room, examined with one glance of the eye. And he, who had affirmed that he saw the body was not in it, would not inforce but rather weaken his evidence if he added that he believed that the body was not in it.

<sup>1</sup> John xx. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Ib. 6, 7.

This cannot be St. John's meaning. Besides St. Peter was equally persuaded of the absence of the body: and yet he speaks only of himself as believing; which implies that he entertained a belief, which he had no reason for thinking then common to them both.

May we not then imagine that the state of the tomb gave occasion to a train of ideas in his mind not altogether unsimilar to this?—

“ If men have taken away the body of my Lord, what has been their character or design? Would a friend, whose business was dispatch, have wasted his precious moments with laying things in such order? Would an insulting foe have left such marks of decency and respect? May I not hope this is the hand, not of man, but of God? For what has He been whose body we find not in a sepulchre? We beheld his glory, in life in words in works, such as eye hath not seen nor ear heard, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father. The Father himself declared of him at his baptism, and again in the holy mount, when I was with him, ‘ This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.’ Is he not then the Holy One who is not to see corruption? Is he not the King of Israel who is to have all his enemies put under his feet? and can the grave then retain its victory over him? If we have not discerned in Moses, in the Psalms, or in the Prophets, that he was to taste of death before he entered into his glory; yet he himself assured us, as I now well recollect, and that but three nights ago, that he should quickly be smitten and rise again. Our Shepherd has

has been smitten as he predicted. Signs in heaven above and in earth beneath spoke his decease. Must not then his prediction be completed? It is much easier for me to believe that He who raised Lazarus from death is no longer under its dominion, than that his word can pass away, to the truth and power of which the Father hath ever set his seal.”—

Though as yet they understood not the scriptures, that he must rise again from the dead: yet, amidst the reflections of a sanctified mind upon past and present circumstances, the day-star, as it seems, arose in the heart of the beloved disciple; and he became intitled to the blessing of those, “who have not seen, and yet have believed.”

\* See West on the Resurrection, p. 280, 281.



## O B S E R V A T I O N S

O N

## S E C T I O N V.

A N D

## THE TRANSACTIONS OF SUNDAY MORNING.

**O**N the morning of the resurrection our Lord showed himself first to Mary Magdalene, and next to her two friends. Was she again with them at this second appearance? In maintaining that she was present at it we are countenanced by St. Matthew, and, I think, by St. John. Both Evangelists speak in similar terms of nearly the same point of time; when the women were going to the apostles to assure them, though by different evidence, that Christ was risen.

St. Matthew had said, "They were going to tell [to report] to the disciples." xxviii. 9.

St. John says, "Mary Magdalene cometh to tell [to report] to the disciples." xx. 18.<sup>1</sup>

This is the literal and just translation of his words. He speaks of her, not as arrived among them but as on her way to them; and then ends abruptly all

<sup>1</sup> See Index of Texts.

that

that he says of her : as if to signify, on his plan of supplying not repeating, that he here returns the history of Mary Magdalene, which he had kept a while disparted, into the course of St. Matthew's narration, and consigns it over to him. But this implies, that beyond the point at which St. John stops short something is related of her by St. Matthew; and this can only be, that she was one of those whom Christ met as they were going to the disciples, and to whom he said, All hail !

The Gospels leave us not without means of accounting for her reunion with her two companions, by showing us the friendship, exalted by devotion to their heavenly Lord, that subsisted among them. When the other Mary and Salome were got to some distance from the sight of the angel, the fear that had agitated their minds subsided; and his blessed tidings filled them with joy. He had bid them go quickly and tell the disciples. But it was no disobedience to his command to think of their dear friend who could not be far from them, and to wish first to see her. If she still continued sorrowing and lamenting, what comfort and delight could they administer to her? If a like vision had been vouchsafed her, they would be curious to hear it, that they might join in reciprocal congratulations on so glorious an event, and then go to the apostles with their concurrent evidence of it. They were certain that she was returned to the sepulchre, and must be then either at it, or between it and the place where they were. Strange therefore it had been if such interesting motives had not induced them to wait a few minutes,

minutes, or go back a little to look after her. I have no doubt that they were soon made happy in meeting her; their gracious Lord so ordering, that her superior firmness might enable them to meet him with more composure, and that her example in falling down to embrace his feet might encourage them to do the same, and so receive conviction of the reality of his resurrection.

2. Two messages were to be delivered to the apostles by these women. The first was that of the angel by the other Mary and Salome:

“Go quickly and tell his disciples [and Peter,] that he is risen from the dead: and behold, he goeth before you into Galilee. There shall ye see him, as he said unto you.” Matth. xxviii. 7. Mark xvi. 7.

Which was thus confirmed by our Lord, when he showed himself to the women. He had no occasion to repeat that he was risen; but graciously substituted BRETHREN for DISCIPLES: “Go tell my brethren that they go into Galilee; and there shall they see me.” Matth. xxviii. 10. He did not think proper to encourage them with hopes of an earlier sight of him; that some trial might be made of their faith, and it might appear how far they would submit their vain reasonings to the express testimony of eye-witnesses confirming their evidence by a token from himself: for such was the message to them about seeing him in Galilee; as will appear by looking back to a late conference between him and them:

“Then



“ Then saith Jesus unto them, All ye shall be offended because of me this night: for it is written, I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock shall be scattered abroad.

But after I am risen again, I will go before you into Galilee.

Peter answered and said unto him, Though all men shall be offended because of thee, yet will I never be offended.

Jesus said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, that this night, before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice.” Matth. xxvi. 31—34.

When our Lord said, “ After I am risen again, I will go before you into Galilee,” he assured his apostles not only of his own resurrection, but of their safety during his sufferings and lying in the grave: for in the promise, that he would go before them into Galilee, is implied that they should be free to follow him. The words, spoken to them on the night before his passion, tended to support their drooping spirits, when all support was, and would be, wanted. The same words sent in a message on the morning of his resurrection were a sign to them of the reality of that great event. They had been spoken to them when only themselves were with him; from which time no one joined them till he was apprehended in the garden; and then so sad a scene ensued, and his death left them in such deep despair, that they had no heart to think, much less to tell, of such future expectations from him. We may therefore be morally certain, that the promise,

“ After

"After I am risen again, I will go before you into Galilee," had never yet been mentioned by any of them, but remained a secret between the speaker and hearers. How then came the women into possession of the secret, and who put words into their mouths with such direct and full reference to it: "Behold he goeth before you into Galilee; there shall ye see him, *as He said unto you?*" A message sent to the apostles that was so circumstanced was a clear token to them from Christ himself, that it was his message. If they did not attend to it as such, the fault was not that of the gracious Sender.

When the angel said to the women, "Go your way, tell his disciples," he added the name of St. Peter, "Tell his disciples and Peter." We have seen in the passage cited above from Matth. xxvi. 31—34. that a part of it concerned him more than the rest in foretelling his three denials. After he had been guilty of these, the mention of his name in particular was an instance of grace and kindness to him, signifying that he had not however forfeited the favour of his Lord. At the same time it had an aptitude, in connection with the message that contained it, to remind him of the prophecy concerning himself, and to put him on reflecting, whether the same Lord, who had so surely predicted the fall of his apostle, might not have foretold his own resurrection with as much certainty.

The second message was that of Christ himself by Mary Magdalene:

\* Mark xvi. 7.

"Go

"Go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father and your Father, and to my God and your God." John xx. 17.

Here is a plain reference to a discourse of his, in which he opened to his eleven apostles a view of the divine œconomy with regard to himself; that it was expedient for them that he should go away; and that he should leave the world, and go to the Father. As this declaration made a great impression on their minds at the time, (see John xvi. 29, 30.) it would more readily recur to their memories. The discourse was held after his last paschal supper; and Mary Magdalene could not have the least idea of it but from Christ or them. With Christ she had no opportunity of conversing between the delivery of the discourse and his passion; and They, for the reasons before offered, were no doubt conscious to themselves that they had not opened their mouths on the subject. The words therefore concerning the ascending of Christ to his Father were her vouchers to them, that she had seen the Lord, and that he had spoken these things unto her.

Each of the two messages, appealing to the minds of the apostles in matters to which no one on earth was privy but themselves, offered evidence to them distinct from the testimony of the women, that Christ was risen.

3. We have already considered the time, when the guards retired from the garden, and a part of them came into the city to the chief priests and elders to inform them of their ill success at the sepulchre. In consequence of this report they were hired to propagate



pagate a story, that, it seems, gained credit with many of the Jews: which must have been because these Many were determined to believe it. Else it required no great sagacity to discern that the authors and abettors of it were conscious of its untruth.

The rulers of Israel had the day before petitioned Pilate for a guard upon the sepulchre, "left his disciples should come by night, and steal him away, and say unto the people, He is risen from the dead; in which case the last delusion would be worse than the first."<sup>1</sup> The theft, from which such danger was apprehended, the story supposes to have been committed; and committed by the disciples of Christ:<sup>2</sup> who continued, high Providence so ordering, eight days at least in Jerusalem after the charge had been brought against them. Why then were they not taken into custody? to do which there wanted not a disposition in these rulers, as they showed soon after, Acts iv. 1—3. A separate and prudent examination of the accused would have bidden fair to discover the truth: and to make no such inquiry into it betrayed a dread of bringing it to light.

And why else was no complaint of the soldiers and their officers laid before the governor? Unless they could have cleared themselves, he might have punished them for the sake of discipline: at least the prosecutors would have showed themselves in earnest, that they held the men guilty, and wished to have an example made of them. Herod Agrippa believing, or desiring the people to believe, that St.

<sup>1</sup> Matth. xxvii. 62—66.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. xxviii. 11—15.

Peter had escaped out of prison by connivance or negligence of the keepers, commanded that they should be put to death.<sup>1</sup> The chief priests and Pharisees were not less zealous than Herod, that the public should think the guard had not done their duty: yet no step was taken to have them punished.

The guards, where their life and honour are at stake, frankly acknowledge their offence, and publish to the world, that they had disgraced themselves and their profession by sleeping on duty. Do men do such things without assurances of protection and recompence? The proceedings of both rulers and soldiers vouch for the Evangelist, that his account of them is true.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Acts xii. 19.

<sup>2</sup> The reader, who desires to see this point excellently argued more at large, may consult Mr. West on the Resurrection, p. 363—368.

## OBSERVATIONS

ON

## SECTION VI.

AND

THE REMAINING EVENTS RECORDED OF SUNDAY MORNING: WITH A DEFENCE OF THE ORDER HITHERTO OBSERVED.

**M**EANWHILE another set of women, according to the plan here pursued, arrived at the sepulchre. Mary Magdalene was the chief person of the first party; Joanna, wife of Chusa Herod's steward, whom St. Luke places next to her, of the second. This was a more numerous company. The Galilean women were many that stood beholding the crucifixion; and they followed after, when our Lord was taken from the cross to be interred, and beheld the sepulchre and how his body was laid: and they returned, and prepared spices and ointments. — “And upon the first day of the week — they came unto the sepulchre, bringing the spices which they had prepared; and certain others with them;” that is, certain women of Je-

<sup>1</sup> See Index of Texts; Luke xxiv. 1.

rusalem,



rusalem, either led by the like spirit of devotion to Christ, or called in to assist with their greater skill in the practice of anointing the dead.

At present let us inquire when this larger company, supposing there were two, arrived at the sepulchre; whether between the two visits of Mary Magdalene to it, or after the second. For the following reasons their arrival seems rightly placed after she left the sepulchre the second time:

It is certain that no one was there earlier than she was; and therefore they who did not accompany her, but made a distinct visit thither, and, as the case requires, neither saw her nor her friends, nor were seen by them, must have come during her absence. Her first absence was when she ran to tell Peter and John: but then she left the other Mary and Salome behind; who went into the sepulchre, and saw and heard the angel. When they were fled away, came the two apostles; and these were followed by Mary Magdalene returning. The time therefore between the departure of the other Mary and Salome from the sepulchre, and the coming of John and Peter to it, seems too short an interval for the arrival and departure of the other women in such manner, that both parties might keep clear of all sight of each other. And the more we prolong this interval, the less probable we make it that Mary Magdalene, after she had seen the Lord, should have rejoined her two friends, when he showed himself to them also. And yet it appears so much the sense of St. Matthew, and I think of St. John, that she was then with them, that it is a point by which we ought  
to

to abide, unless there are cogent reasons to the contrary. As I am not aware of any such, I espouse the opinion which seems the most likely: that Mary Magdalene was gone the second time from the sepulchre, before Joanna and her company got to it.

What more is to be remarked concerning this second company will meet us in the ensuing disquisition concerning the truth of the order hitherto pursued.

Though several things have been observed in the course of this work that strongly favour the division of the women into two companies, yet they will not be admitted as adequate proofs of the fact. It is time therefore that we allege the proper evidences of it; which for the sake of method and clearness shall be reduced under certain heads:

§. 1. St. Mark's account of the women that went to the sepulchre on the morning of the resurrection does in just construction exclude all but those whom he names.

He speaks of these women or some of them in the five following places:

"There were also women looking on afar off: among whom was Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James the less and of Joseph, and Salome." xv. 40.

"And Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of Joseph beheld where he was laid." Ib. 47.

K

"And

“And when the sabbath was past, Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James, and Salome, bought sweet spices, that they might go and anoint him.” xvi. 1.

“And very early in the morning, the first day of the week, they came unto the sepulchre, at the rising of the sun.” Ib. 2.

“Now when Jesus was risen early the first day of the week, he appeared first to Mary Magdalene.” Ib. 9.

On comparing these passages we find that St. Mark first selects three from the whole company of Galilean women; next drops the name of one of them; then resumes it, and unites the three together on two occasions; and lastly singles out one of them. Till a more natural reason is assigned for separating these three women from the whole company, and then such care in noting on what occasions they were, or were not, together, I must regard it as a strict adherence to the reality of facts; that only the two Maries are named at the sepulchre, because, when others departed, they only staid by it; that only these two and Salome are mentioned as buying spices when the sabbath was past, because the other Galilean women went and bought them before it began; that only Mary Magdalene is named as first seeing Christ, because no one was with her when she first saw him; and in the instance under consideration that the Three only are named as going to the sepulchre, because no other person was with them. Their question among themselves gives much



much countenance to this argument: "Who shall roll us away the stone from the door of the sepulchre?" Mark xvi. 3. Would this question have been asked, if all the Galilean women, "and certain others with them," had been there? Surely the united exertions of such a company would have been equal to the task; and the idea of its difficulty arose from the smallness of the party present.\*

This interpretation of St. Mark is perfectly consistent with St. Luke. For,

§. 2. St. Luke's account does not include the women named by St. Mark. It bears tokens of being the description of an entirely distinct company.

In speaking of the women that attended the body of Christ from the cross to the sepulchre St. Luke does not say "THE women also which came with him from Galilee," but, as we shall find if we consult the original, "And women also which came with him from Galilee," xxiii. 55. as if intending to comprehend only the majority, not the whole company of these women, in his subsequent account of them: nor at present does he mention any one of them by name. He speaks of them as follows:

"And women also, which came with him from Galilee, followed after, and beheld the sepulchre and how his body was laid: and they returned and prepared spices and ointments; and rested the sabbath day according to the commandment." xxiii. 55, 56.

\* See West on the Resurrection, p. 62, 63.

And all that he says of them, for the first nine verses of the next chapter, is limited to those who had thus acted together on Friday evening; that is, Those whom he describes as returning and preparing spices as soon as they had beheld how his body was laid, and as resting the sabbath-day according to the commandment: the same and no other Galilean women he describes as going on the first day of the week very early to the sepulchre, and seeing and hearing all that is related to the end of this paragraph of nine verses.

Now since Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, and Salome, did not return and prepare spices with these women on Friday, but on that and the ensuing evening acted by themselves, they appear to be not comprehended in the company which St. Luke here mentions.

But they are kept separate by a more distinguishing circumstance. St. Luke says of the women whom he speaks of, "And they returned from the sepulchre, and told all these things unto the Eleven and to all the rest."<sup>1</sup> Not a word or hint do we discover in him, that in returning from the sepulchre they beheld the Lord himself. Yet this being the most absolute proof of his resurrection that they could receive, or lay before others, it is highly improbable that St. Luke would have omitted so interesting an event, if it might have been related of them. But if they did not then see the Lord, they are as much discriminated by St. Luke from Mary Magdalene, the other Mary, and Salome, in return-

<sup>1</sup> xxiv. 9.

ing from the sepulchre, as they are by St. Mark in going to it.

We reason as we conceive the Evangelists direct us; and are several ways assured, that we do not mistake their directions.

§. 3. There were two appearances and two speeches of the angels to the women at the sepulchre, besides the vision to Mary Magdalene alone.

I trust it has been sufficiently proved that the sepulchre was divided into two parts; and that the outer, the area or court, was the passage to the inner, the tomb. With this in mind let us hear what the Evangelists relate:

St. Mark represents the women, when they had entered into the sepulchre, as seeing a young man or angel, sitting on the right side, clothed in a long white garment;<sup>1</sup> who, having announced to them that the Lord was risen, then added, as it is expressed in St. Matthew, "Come, see the place where the Lord lay."<sup>2</sup> The women therefore had not yet seen that place, but were in the outer court; and there also was the angel sitting, sitting upon the stone, which he had rolled from the door of the inner part, the tomb.

This is the account given by St. Matthew and St. Mark: but St. Luke's is,

"And they found the stone rolled away from the sepulchre: and they entered in, and found

<sup>1</sup> xvi. 5.

<sup>2</sup> xxviii. 6.



not the body of the Lord Jesus. And it came to pass as they were much perplexed thereabout, behold, two men stood by them in shining garments," xxiv. 2—4.

The women therefore had passed through the outer court, and had entered and searched the tomb, before these two young men, or angels, appeared standing by them: and what is recorded in St. Matthew as spoken to them, "Come, see the place where the Lord lay," cannot possibly have been spoken at that time, or by either of the angels that then first appeared. For it is not to be imagined, that they invited the women, for their further satisfaction, to take a view of the tomb a few moments after they had been in it, and surveyed with care the place where the Lord had lain. Plainer proof there needs not, that these Evangelists relate distinct appearances and speeches of the angels, between which the inspection of the tomb must have intervened.

Thus the matter was understood by Origen; who says, "If only one angel is mentioned by Matthew and Mark, and two by Luke and John, there is no contradiction in this. They who mention One angel speak of him who rolled away the stone from the sepulchre: they who mention Two speak of those who stood in shining garments by the women that came that morning to the sepulchre, or who were seen sitting in white."\*

\* Origen against Celsus, B. V. p. 268. Ed. Cantab.

St. Augustin is still fuller to the purpose : “ When  
 “ the women are said to have entered into the sepul-  
 “ chre, we may understand it of entering into a  
 “ space encompassed with a fence, through which  
 “ was the passage into the tomb hewen in the rock ;  
 “ and that they there saw the angel described by  
 “ Matthew as sitting on the stone rolled away from  
 “ the tomb ; then, while they were inspecting the  
 “ place where the body of the Lord had lain, that  
 “ they beheld two other angels standing, as Luke  
 “ relates.”<sup>1</sup>

The same distinction between the two visions is  
 made by Cornelius a Lapide ;<sup>2</sup> and by John Ger-  
 hard, who completed the Harmony begun by Chem-  
 nitius ;<sup>3</sup> as also by Dr. Whitby, in his Annotations on  
 Mark xvi. in answer to Objection i. More authori-  
 ties might be added : but I shall content myself  
 with that of Mr. Pilkington in his Evangelical His-  
 tory and Harmony :

“ When they came to the sepulchre, they saw the  
 “ same angel who had rolled away the stone sitting  
 “ on the right side, who told them that Jesus was  
 “ risen, &c. This is the angel mentioned by St.  
 “ Matthew and St. Mark. When they were entered

<sup>1</sup> Augustin De Consensu Evangelistarum, p. 508. Ed. Basil.  
 1569. See Index under Augustin No. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cornelius a Lapide, Commentar. in Matthæum ; Cap.  
 xxviii. 2. p. 560. col. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Gerhard, Harmon. Histor. Evangel. de Resurrectione Christi ;  
 Cap. ii. p. 250. Ed. Genev. 1628.

“ into

“into the sepulchre, they saw two angels in the  
 “place where Jesus had lain standing by them.  
 “These are the two angels mentioned by St. Luke;  
 “and perhaps were the same that Mary Magdalene  
 “had seen before.”<sup>1</sup>

Thus far we have the countenance of these learned  
 writers; but no further: for they refer both visions  
 to the same company. But I trust we have the au-  
 thority of the Gospels to go on and maintain that,

§. 4. Each of the angelic appearances was to a dif-  
 ferent set of women.

The angel that was seen sitting on the stone, on  
 the right side, said unto the women, “Fear not ye:  
 for I know that ye seek Jesus which was crucified.  
 He is not here: for he is risen, as he said. Come,  
 see the place where the Lord lay. And go quickly  
 and tell his disciples, that he is risen from the dead:  
 and behold, he goeth before you into Galilee; there  
 shall ye see him. Lo, I have told you. And they  
 departed quickly from the sepulchre with fear and  
 great joy.” Matth. xxviii. 5 — 8.

This is St. Matthew’s account, with which St.  
 Mark’s entirely agrees; and from the last sentence  
 of it one would naturally conclude, that, as soon  
 as the angel had done speaking, the women made  
 all possible haste from the sepulchre. However, let  
 us suppose them to have had courage enough to ac-  
 cept the angel’s invitation, “Come, see the place

<sup>1</sup> Pilkington’s Notes on Evang. History and Harmony, p. 63.



where the Lord lay." They went into the tomb with as clear and explicit a declaration of Christ's resurrection, as could be made them.

Let us now hear St. Luke: "And they found the stone rolled away from the sepulchre: and they entered in, and found not the body of the Lord Jesus:—and they were much perplexed thereabout." xxiv. 2—4.

If these were the women to whom the angel sitting on the stone had spoken, what could cause them to be much perplexed thereabout, while his very words were founding in their ears, "He is not here: for he is risen?"

The reality of the angel's appearance they did not doubt; and the not finding of the body was a confirmation of his words, if they had any distrust of the truth of them. But indeed any degree of incredulity is inconsistent with the character given of these pious women in the Gospels: in every one of which they are represented as yielding a ready and full assent to all that either angels or Christ himself told them of the certainty of his resurrection. The only warrantable account of so much perplexity at not finding the body of the Lord Jesus in the tomb is, that it was the distress of those who had not yet heard a word of his resurrection. But then they had not heard the angel sitting on the stone announce it, nor been with those to whom he had appeared and told it.

"He is not here, he is risen," was said to the women as soon as they entered the court of the sepulchre. "He is not here, he is risen," was said to the women when they had been in the tomb, and found

found not the body of the Lord Jesus. This notification of Christ's resurrection was as necessary the second time as the first to distinct companies of the women; but a repetition of the same words to the same persons is not in the style of these heavenly messengers in their errands to mankind: and, if we may reason here by analogy of Scripture, the angels, who declared the same thing twice, declared it the second time to those who had not heard it before.

The two angels, that appeared after the women went into the tomb, said to them, "Why seek ye the living among the dead?"\* The words, as Euthymius observes, are not so affable as those that had been spoken before, but carry somewhat of reprehension in them.<sup>2</sup> Whence could this arise? If the women, who saw the first angel, were indeed within the tomb, they went thither by his own gracious invitation, "Come, see the place where the Lord lay." Would then the question have been put to them, be the reprehension contained in it ever so gentle, for doing what he himself had courted them to do? There is surely a greater probability that the words were spoken to some who, not having seen him, went into the tomb of their own accord; and that the women *questioned* and the women *invited* were not the same persons.

§. 5. The accounts given of the behaviour of the women at the sepulchre are accounts of different parties of them.

\* Luke xxiv. 5.

<sup>2</sup> See Index under Euthymius.

The women, whom St. Matthew and St. Mark speak of, were affrighted not only at the first sight of the angel, but after he had done speaking to them. Both Evangelists represent them as hastening away from his presence by going out quickly and fleeing from the sepulchre. If they were only two women left by themselves, and already discomposed by the sudden departure of the third, it is the less marvel that their fear at the angel's appearance for a while suspended their joy at his blessed tidings. The effects of that first felt impression are thus painted by St. Mark: "And they went out quickly, and fled from the sepulchre; for they trembled and were amazed." xvi. 8.

But the women described by St. Luke were indeed surprized and abashed at seeing two angels stand by them; but, whether they derived some little confidence from their number, or whatever the reason was, seem to have soon become sedate and composed. For the angel having said to them, "Remember how he spake unto you while he was yet in Galilee, saying, The Son of man must be delivered into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and the third day rise again;" St. Luke adds, "And they remembered his words; and returned from the sepulchre, and told all these things unto the Eleven and to all the rest." xxiv. 6—9.

It is probable that our Lord had uttered the prophecy, to which the angels refer, some months before: and then the hearers of it, men or women, had not the least conception of its meaning. Yet now they remember, understand, and apply it to the accom-



accomplishment. This surely argues not much fear or agitation of spirits, but rather a calm possession of recollection and judgement. And if they had recovered such presence of mind while the angels were yet speaking, there is no reason to imagine, that, having heard such happy intelligence, they were then seized with a sudden terror, and fled from the sepulchre trembling and amazed. Certainly St. Luke's words convey no such idea of their departure from it.

§. 6. The speech of the two angels considered as spoken to a subsequent company has an obvious propriety.

It would be presumption to affirm antecedently what the angels ought or ought not to have spoken. But when we have their speech before us, we may examine and judge, whether the circumstances of it suit better with the whole company of the women, or with one part of them not exactly in the same situation with the other.

If the women did not visit the sepulchre all together, I think the going thither of Joanna and her party has been rightly placed after Mary Magdalene had left it the second time; \* and then our Lord had showed himself to her: and but a short space intervened before he met her two friends and her, "saying, All hail!" At this juncture it was that the two angels were addressing themselves to Joanna and those that had just searched the tomb with her.

\* See p. 129.

When

When therefore Christ was not only risen but had appeared in that body which he had raised from the grave, it might well be asked of those, who were much perplexed because they found not his body where it had been deposited, "Why seek ye the living among the dead?" And the women, to whom the question was put, would soon after understand the meaning of it, though they did not at the instant.

An explicit notification of Christ's resurrection was as requisite for the comfort of the second company as of the preceding; and therefore it is said to them also, "He is not here, but is risen." But they are not invited to "come and see the place where the Lord lay;" for that they had already done. And there being one great circumstance in which, for wise reasons no doubt, they were not to be so highly favoured as the three former, in their return from the sepulchre, in that they were not then to behold the Lord himself; another provision is made for the confirming of their faith. The angels represent to them, that the great event now announced was the fulfilment of a prophecy, which he their Lord, whose words they had ever acknowledged and found to be truth itself, had spoken in their hearing. The women recollect the prophecy; and the angels add no more. The message to the apostles had been sent by others, and would be delivered before their arrival. It is therefore not repeated.

In every view the division of the women into two companies, going successively to the sepulchre, corresponds exactly with the evangelical accounts of  
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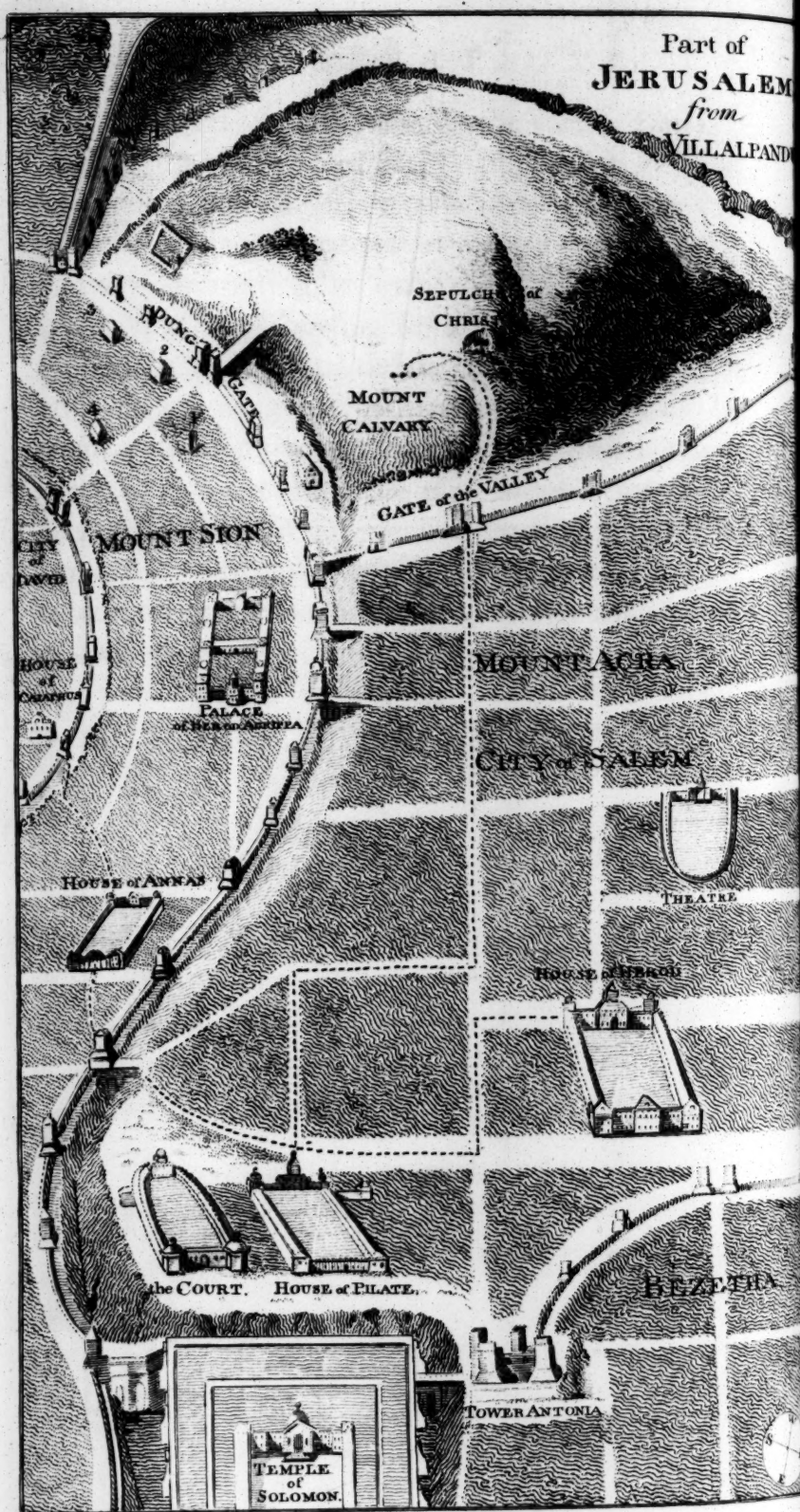
that morning. It embraces all the circumstances related of the women and of the angels seen by them, and unites the whole into one intelligible consistent history. This perhaps might appear to some advantage by confronting it with the schemes of an opposite kind, and showing from what imperfections of theirs it is free. But I desire, as little as may be, to criticize [the religious endeavours of others to harmonize this important part of the gospel history; content if I can make the plan hitherto pursued as clear to others as I believe it to be true in itself, and can justify it from Objections; the most material of which, as far as I am aware of them, shall now be considered.

## OBJECTIONS



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## OBJECTIONS CONSIDERED.

IT may be said, if we divide the women into two parties, it is not easy to apprehend, how they could have been at the sepulchre without any fight of each other; since all the Evangelists assign nearly the same time for their coming thither.

It is to be remembered that the word used by the Evangelists bears the sense of going as well as coming: and here means, as hath been clearly proved, the time when the women went from their several homes: in which case there is no such difficulty in conceiving the means that may have kept the two parties asunder as long as we suppose it requisite.

Let us but consider the situation of certain places in Jerusalem, and we shall find it not only possible but probable that these things should have fallen out as they have been stated; and indeed that they could not well have happened otherwise; if we may rely on a map of that city, not of arbitrary construction, but compiled from antient documents.

The places here set down have their names affixed, all but a few houses near the Dung-gate; which, to keep them distinct from the rest of the map, have only numeral figures.

N<sup>o</sup>. 1. Is the house of Zebedee, once a collegiate church, now a Turkish mosque.

N<sup>o</sup>. 2.



Nº. 2. The church of St. Mark, where his house stood.

Nº. 3. The house of St. James.

Nº. 4. A chapel where once stood the house of St. Thomas.

The dotted line was designed by the compiler of the map to show the way, along which Christ was led from the palace of Caiaphas to mount Calvary.

That which he calls the Gate of the Valley is called by some others the Gate of Judgement, because criminals were led to execution through it.

In Zebedee's house Salome, whether then his wife or widow, would abide with her son St. John. It stood very near to that which the map calls the Dung-gate; which opening the nearest way to the sepulchre from that part of the town, in this house would be deposited the spices prepared on the preceding evening by her, Mary Magdalene, and the other Mary, as the most convenient place from which they might be taken to the sepulchre. Her friends the two Maries, who had staid at the sepulchre by themselves on Friday evening, did probably lodge together, perhaps in an interior part of the city, at least more remote from the Dung-gate; and on that account went forth before it was clear day-light, that they might be in good time at Zebedee's house: from which, when all things were ready, they and Salome proceeded to the sepulchre so as to be there at the rising of the sun.

The lodgings of Joanna, whose husband was steward to Herod, we may fix in or near the palace:  
the

the direct way from which to the sepulchre was through the Gate of the Valley. It is seen at once that this palace and Zebedee's house were in different quarters of the city. They therefore who started from either had little inducement to make such a round as would be necessary to call at the other, when it was supposed they would all meet at the sepulchre. The map shows also that the distance from Herod's palace to the sepulchre was at least twice as much as from Zebedee's house. If therefore the three women that went from the latter to the sepulchre, and reached it about six, were half an hour in going, They who set out from the palace, at the same rate of walking twice the distance, would be there half an hour later. But we can hardly believe them to have been thus expeditious as to have arrived but half an hour after the first party. Early in the morning as Joanna and one or two of her friends were prepared to set out, they had to wait for others who might live at some distance, or not be quite so punctual: and when they were collected, women of Galilee and women of Jerusalem, if any of them were slow walkers the rest could get on no faster, if they were to keep together in a body. We may therefore well allow near an hour between the arrivals of the two companies; which is amply sufficient for all that is supposed to have happened in the interim.

The errands of the women who had seen an angelic vision was to the apostles; of whom St. John would dwell in his own house, that had been his father Zebedee's. Nor was St. Peter's far from him.

L

John

John xx. 2. To these the women would first repair, as Mary Magdalene had before. And wherever the rest of the apostles were to be found, unless the path towards their lodgings lay through the Gate of the Valley, which we have no reason to suppose; the company that first retired from the sepulchre could not meet the other advancing towards it.

Herod's palace may be admitted to have been where the map places it. It may seem more questionable, how the site of Zebedee's house, originally we may imagine an obscure building, could be recovered, when the whole city had been razed to its foundations. But Jerusalem stood on the risings and sinkings of very uneven ground, intersected as well as encompassed with walls, the bases of which would remain: and thus the parts into which it had been distributed, and the contents of each division, were more easily recollected and ascertained, than if the like calamity had befallen a city built on a plain. And the Christians who had retired to Pella and the mountains beyond Jordan before the siege, being returned to it after its destruction, would be guided by certain standing marks to the structures which they had before held in veneration. And to rebuild them as near as might be in the old places, and call them again by their old names, might be no unpleasing consolation to those who were resettled in the fallen city. Nor from the desolation of Jerusalem to the present times has the succession of its Christian inhabitants been ever long interrupted; often as it has changed its masters, and suffered by its con-



conquerors, Romans, Persians, Saracens, Mamalucs, and Ottomans.

If Fable has added its conceits to traditionary truths in these matters, yet I do not find that it has interested itself about Zebedee, or told any thing of him that required his presence or an abode for him at Jerusalem. The true reason, why a house is assigned him in it, seems to have been that he really had one, the same probably which his son St. John called his own house, John xix. 27. It might come to them from their ancestors; and Zebedee, though he resided in Galilee, might feel the usual reluctance to part with his inheritance, and that in the Holy City. It might even be more valuable to him and his friends at the great festivals, and on other occasions, than the price of a dwelling in such a part of the city.

The part of Jerusalem which is here delineated is from the map of Villalpandus a learned Spaniard of Cordova, well known for his commentary on Ezekiel and designs of Solomon's Temple, and celebrated by many authors of name for his skill and accuracy in these researches. Among other eminent men, who have adopted his topography of Jerusalem as the most satisfactory, is Bishop Walton in his Polyglot.

Only the four houses that are numbered, and did not come properly under the consideration of Villalpandus, are from the view of Jerusalem given by Cotovicus, an eminent civilian of Utrecht, who visited Palestine in the year of our Lord 1598.

Though in this view he sets down the Dung-gate,

not as it stands in Villalpandus,\* but as in the present city, much changed in situation and shape from its antient state; yet he places the houses in question precisely as they are here disposed, near to a line by which he distinguishes the course of the wall that divided the old city from mount Calvary. Herman Witfius says of him that he examined Jerusalem with curious eyes. And so certainly thought a traveller of great note, who was there about twelve years after him, our countryman Mr. George Sandys. For the drawings of Cotovicus of the Temple of the Holy Sepulchre, and other parts of Jerusalem, are closely followed in Sandys' Travels: and the praise which Mr. Maundrell bestows on the latter, for exactness in these matters, belongs equally to the other.

The map of Villalpandus, with the addition of the houses from Cotovicus, illustrates the incidents of the morning of the resurrection, as if it was fabricated for that very purpose. And yet we may venture to affirm that these learned men had not the most distant idea of the use to which their designs are applicable. Their notion, I presume, was the same as was generally entertained, that the women all went to the sepulchre in one company; which is not particularly favoured by either plan separately; and, when they are thus united, is rather discountenanced by them: for hence it appears, while all the women were hastening to the same place, how much

\* Villalpandus must be right with regard to the situation of the Dung-gate in antient Jerusalem. See Nehemiah ii. 13, 14. iii. 13—15.

time some of them must lose by going to join the others, for the sake of setting out with them.

The history not being framed to tally with the map, nor the map with the history, their undesigned agreement adds to the credibility of both.

Another great difficulty is found in this passage of St. Luke :

“ And they returned from the sepulchre and told [reported] all these things unto the Eleven, and to all the rest.

It was Mary Magdalene, and Joanna, and Mary the mother of James, and other women that were with them, which told these things unto the apostles.

And their words seemed to them as idle tales, and they believed them not.” xxiv. 9—11.

The five verses preceding the ninth give an account of the appearance and speech of the angels to the women of whom St. Luke has been speaking.

The ninth informs us that these women came and reported all these things to the apostles and all the disciples.

The tenth is supposed to be explanatory of the ninth; and therefore that the women named in it had been at the sepulchre together, had there seen the vision of the two angels, and then had come as one company to the apostles, and reported it to them.

This



This may seem a fair account of the passage if we consider it singly: but on a larger view of the history we may judge another construction necessary; for which eminent authors have laid a good foundation.

In Gerhard's Evangelical Harmony it is remarked that "These Things" are to be taken distributively, and as respecting different subjects of which they are predicated; that Mary Magdalene told the things which she had observed; and the other women what the angels had testified concerning Christ's resurrection: for that Mary Magdalene told the apostles the vision and speech of the angels Luke nowhere says, nor does it agree with John's account.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Benson says: Mary Magdalene told some part, and the other women the rest of these things.<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Macknight: Mary Magdalene was at the sepulchre with Peter and John. But her report, though made separately, is justly joined by Luke with that of her companions, for various reasons.<sup>3</sup>

Dr. Lardner: St. Luke puts together the whole testimony of the women. But we know from St. John, that their testimony consisted of two reports, brought down to the apostles at different times.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Harmon. Hist. Evangel. de Resurrectione Christi; Cap. i. p. 240. col. i. Vide etiam pag. 257. col. i. ad imum.

<sup>2</sup> Summary View of the Evidences of Christ's Resurrection, Lond. 1754. 8vo. p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Harmony of the four Gospels, Sect. 150. p. 633. 2d edit.

<sup>4</sup> Observations on Dr. Macknight's Harmony, 4to. p. 44.

Mr. Pilkington : St. Luke informs us that it was Mary Magdalene, &c. who gave an account of what they had seen and heard to the apostles ; but without specifying whether they had seen these things together or separately.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Doddridge also in his Paraphrase on the place distinguishes the report of Mary Magdalene from that of the other women.

Why have these learned men taken the liberty of separating what St. Luke in this tenth verse seems to have closely united ? Is it not because they were convinced that the verse is to be explained by the history, not the history confined by the verse ? A distribution of "These Things" into two reports they hold necessary. If then we should be led to a third by this history, we must by their examples be free to follow its guidance.

The evidences of the resurrection of Christ, as stated in the preceding pages, which the women could then produce, were these :

- i. The appearance and speech of the angel sitting on the right hand in the sepulchre, at which Mary the mother of James was present, but not Mary Magdalene.
- ii. The appearance of Christ to Mary Magdalene only, near the sepulchre, within which she had just before seen two angels.

<sup>1</sup> Evangelical History and Harmony, Notes, p. 61.

- iii. His second appearance to the women, as they went "to bring his disciples word," at which Mary the mother of James was present.
- iv. The appearance of the two angels who stood by the women, when they had been in the tomb, "and found not the body of the Lord Jesus."

I trust it has been proved to be most consonant to the Evangelists to consider these as four distinct successive appearances, circumstanced as they have been represented. And on this foot it is not possible that Mary Magdalene or Mary the mother of James can have been of the company of which St. Luke says, "And they entered in, and found not the body of the Lord Jesus:—and they were much perplexed thereabout."<sup>2</sup> This cannot apply to those who, as the second and third instances show, had already seen the Lord, and were perfectly persuaded of his resurrection. There remains only Joanna of the three women mentioned by St. Luke, that can have laboured under such perplexity, as not having been a witness of any of the preceding appearances. She also was presently after informed of the resurrection by the two angels; and so went from the sepulchre to the apostles with a testimony, with which neither Mary Magdalene nor the other Mary was acquainted. We observe also, that the testimonies of the two latter were distinct from each other: Mary Magdalene first saw the Lord; but before this, and in her absence, Mary the mother of James had seen the angel sitting in the sepulchre, who gave the earliest tidings of the resurrection.

<sup>2</sup> xxiv. 3, 4.



It being then plain that each of these women had evidence of it, which neither of the others had personal knowledge of, we must go a little beyond our learned authorities, yet still on the ground which they took, and distribute "These Things" into three reports instead of two. And this is a point that, I think, puts the design of the verse before us out of question; and shows that St. Luke joined Mary Magdalene, Joanna, and Mary the mother of James, together, not because they all reported the same thing to the apostles, but for a higher reason, because they severally attested different things in such manner, that the amount of their testimonies was the whole of the evidence that could then be exhibited.

If St. Luke had intended only to tell us, who the women were, that had searched the tomb and then saw the two angels, he could have done it in fewer words: "And Mary Magdalene, and Joanna, and Mary the mother of James, and other women that were with them, returned from the sepulchre, and told all these things unto the Eleven, and to all the rest." This had been more in his usual style than to say the same thing twice over in a breath.

When he judges it proper to name those of whom he is discoursing, it is not customary with him to keep his readers in suspense to the end of a long paragraph: he gives the names of the persons either in the outset of the narrative relating to them, or as soon after as he has a fair opportunity. And this also may be of some weight in the argument, that he has placed the names of these three women in the  
tenth

tenth verse, not by way of concluding the preceding story, but rather as the opening of another part of his subject. He was going to speak of the incredulity of the disciples : and the evidences of our Lord's resurrection being then in the hands of the women, it was proper to begin with specifying some of them who were in full possession of it, and at the same time were in credit and esteem with these disciples ; that it might be seen what clear and ample testimonies their prejudiced minds could resist. The account of their incredulity, interrupted only by a circumstance concerning St. Peter, is continued on, and exemplified in Cleopas and his fellow traveller.

He says of the women that had seen the two angels, that "They returned from the sepulchre, and reported [ἀπήγγειλαν] all these things unto the Eleven, and to all the rest."<sup>1</sup>

He says of those whom he names, that they were they "which told [ἔλεγον] these things unto the apostles."

If he had meant exactly the same thing in both verses, only with the addition of names, as in the message of John the Baptist delivered by his disciples to Christ, Luke vii. 19, 20. it is not very likely that he would have changed "They reported" into "They told" for the sake of those whose nice ears might have judged so quick a return of the same word inelegant. He did not affect elegance in composing a Gospel. His study was propriety of diction ; and this is the character of his style. But

<sup>1</sup> Luke xxiv. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. 10.

when two words of nearly similar meaning are used, propriety requires that each should stand in a place which the other would not fill with equal accuracy, when the subject is a little different. And some difference here supposed, perhaps he who considers the original may be induced to think, that each of the two words does best where it is, and that neither of them would have served so well for both occasions.

Again: He says in verse 9. "All these things;" in verse 10. "These Things." "All these things," in the former instance, are all the particulars of the preceding vision: "These things," in the latter instance, are the evidences of Christ's resurrection, or the whole subject of which he is here treating. As when St. John says, xxi. 24. "This is the disciple which testifieth of these things, and wrote these things;" he does not limit the sense of "These things" to the event next foregoing, but extends it to his whole Gospel: and, Luke x. 21. when our Lord says, "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes;" "These things" are not to be restricted to any one article immediately antecedent: they are spoken of the whole of our Lord's past ministry; and as much of those parts of it, which St. Luke has omitted, as of those which he has recorded. So also in the verse before us "These Things" are not merely what is related by him, but the sum total of the testimonies by which the women confirmed the same event.

An



An explication, that without doing violence to the passage explained sets it in a light of perfect consistence with the subject of which it is a part, will merit the preference, even if another sense may appear as natural on a detached view of the passage. We may add, that St. Luke has further intimated that he is here to be understood as he has been interpreted; if we may judge of the outset by his subsequent procedure in the history of the Resurrection: by the outset I mean what he tells concerning the women till they came to make their report to the apostles. Thenceforward to the end of his Gospel he does not relate a single fact in common with St. Matthew; and till the Ascension very little in common with St. Mark: as if he meant to show us, that he did not take up the subject on the ground of the preceding Evangelists, but designed to open to the Christian world new wonders of that wonderful time.

St. Matthew and St. Mark had confined their narrative to the women that went first to the sepulchre; where the things which they saw and heard deserved to be told for a memorial of them. But their number, and the way by which they went, made them no object of attention to those who might see them go. The company described by St. Luke was more numerous: and with the women of Galilee were some of Jerusalem. They set out probably from a more conspicuous part of the city, and went through a greater length of it; "carrying the spices which they had prepared:" a circumstance so much less observable in the former party, that St. Mark, if indeed

indeed it happened, passes it over. In fact this seems to have been the solemn procession through the city to the sepulchre, in honour of their Lord. And when the spices that had been taken out to anoint his body were brought back, it was a natural inquiry of the spectators, Why they had not been used: to which the same answer was returned by women of Galilee and women of Jerusalem; that would occasion a murmur to spread throughout the city concerning the most marvellous of all events.

To tell of these things was a very valuable Enlargement of the Gospel history; which St. Luke, alluding also to the former party, has made subservient to his purpose of showing what evidence the disciples could resist.

The first women told the apostles, that they had seen the Lord, and embraced his feet. This was much too hard a saying to be received by them. As they believed the intercourse of angels with men, the second company brought a report to them that seemed better to fall in with their notions. But no mode of testimony could work upon them. The words of the women, of two distinct parties, "seemed to them as idle tales, and they believed them not."

Not long after, these disciples so obstinate in incredulity proclaimed the resurrection of Christ to the people of Jerusalem, before the elders of Israel, and then to the ends of the earth; at the hazard of their fortunes, their liberties, and often of their lives: and this they did with intrepid constancy, and astonishing success. But whence this great change in themselves, and the conversion of such multitudes?

No

No reasonable account can be given of the matter, but that they had been convinced themselves by ocular demonstration that Christ was risen, and convinced others by demonstration of the Spirit: "the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following."

From this long justification of the order hitherto observed, let us now return to the history.

"Then arose Peter, and ran unto the sepulchre; and stooping down he beheld the linen clothes laid by themselves, and departed, wondering in himself at that which was come to pass." Luke xxiv. 12.

There is good reason to believe that the Evangelists have disposed what each of them writes on the subject of the Resurrection in exact order of time. But this is an instance of exception, if St. Luke and St. John both describe the same going of St. Peter to the sepulchre: for that in which St. Peter and St. John went together was before any report of the women concerning a vision of angels; this is related after such report. Mons. Toinard therefore makes them distinct. How the matter really was let us inquire a little.

Cleopas



Cleopas on the way to Emmaus having signified his despair that He, in whom they had trusted till very lately, should redeem Israel, proceeds to other causes of their distress of mind : and having mentioned that certain women of their company who were early that morning at the sepulchre, not having found the body, came telling it, and that they had also seen a vision of angels which said that he was alive ; then adds, “ And certain also of them which were with us went to the sepulchre, and found it even so as the women had said ;” that is, with respect to the absence of the body : “ but him they saw not.” It is plain that they who then went to the sepulchre knew of the vision of angels seen by the women. Cleopas calls them “ certain of them which were with us ;” which indefinite expression may mean only one, or one only as principal. Whom then had he in view ? As we cannot have a better interpreter than St. Luke of his own narration, let us observe what he has said just above. He mentions four things in succession : 1. the report of the women on returning from the sepulchre : 2. the disbelief of their report by the disciples : 3. the going of St. Peter to the sepulchre : 4. the conversation of Cleopas on the way to Emmaus. The last of these articles is an exemplification of the second, the incredulity of the disciples ; and the connection between them is rather interrupted by the third, the act of St. Peter. The account of him was therefore inserted here, at least it was one purpose of inserting it, to apprise us beforehand whom Cleopas

<sup>1</sup> Luke xxiv. 24.

means

means by "certain of them which were with us." As interpreted by St. Luke he means St. Peter: and St. Peter went then to the sepulchre knowing of the vision of angels; that is, he went thither a second time: and this is confirmed by his behaviour on this occasion. When he went with St. John he did not stoop down to look into the tomb, but entered it directly, and examined it minutely: but now no more was necessary than to stoop down and look into it, to see whether he could ascertain with his own eyes what the women had affirmed concerning the angels seen there. But no angels appeared to him. He "beheld only the linen clothes lying;" as bishop Pearce, justly I think, translates the words in this place;<sup>1</sup> and as Mr. West had before translated them.<sup>2</sup> The differences between the accounts of St. Luke and St. John on this subject are so clearly stated and so well argued by Mr. West, that two able harmonists, Dr. Doddridge<sup>3</sup> and Mr. Pilkington,<sup>4</sup> who had followed the general opinion in the body of their works, did afterwards allow him to have proved, that St. Peter twice visited the sepulchre. This appears to be the real fact: but which ever way it is determined, the preceding plan will not be affected by the decision.

<sup>1</sup> Commentary on the four Evangelists.

<sup>2</sup> Observations on the History and Evidence of the Resurrection, p. 54.

<sup>3</sup> Family Expositor, Vol. iii. Postscript, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Evangelical History and Harmony, Notes, p. 94.

## O B S E R V A T I O N S

O N

## S E C T I O N VII.

AFTERNOON AND EVENING OF THE RESURREC-  
TION.

1. *The sentiments of the disciples in general concerning Christ's Resurrection.*
2. *Cleopas and his companion, when our Lord joined them on the way to Emmaus, were acquainted with the whole of the women's testimony concerning him.*
3. *Only ten of the apostles, and not many of the other disciples, assembled when Christ first appeared to them.*

§. 1. **W**E are not told what progress St. Peter made towards believing, when he returned from the sepulchre wondering in himself at that which was come to pass. But the apostles and disciples in general, astonished at the condemnation and death of their Lord, and abandoning their former trust "that it was he who should redeem Israel," seem to have thought and reasoned to this effect:

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"We



“ We have heard out of the Law and Prophets, according to the current and approved interpretations of them, that Messiah abideth for ever.<sup>1</sup> How then can he have perished by the hands of the ungodly? The King of Israel is to triumph over all, and reign gloriously upon earth. Is it therefore to be conceived, that his lustre and greatness were to be tarnished with the ignominy of hanging as accursed on a tree? Our Master and Lord was indeed a prophet; a prophet mighty in deed and word before God and all the people. But when an evil and perverse generation have slain their prophets, does Heaven for their sakes bring back these men of God from the grave? If his body is not to be found, may it not have been honoured with a burial like that of Moses?<sup>2</sup> Angels may have conveyed it away: and these Angels, nay and his own Spirit too, may have appeared and spoken to the women, to console his followers with an assurance that a Soul so holy and spotless is still alive to God, as Abraham and the Patriarchs live. But when these women added that they had seen him risen with his body, and had embraced and held his feet, what can be supposed but that their fond desire deceived their senses? In all the Volume of the Book, and in the list of his own might works, there is not an instance that one, so wounded and pierced as he has been, was ever restored to life.”

With sentiments and arguments like these the disciples of our Lord seem to have combated the evi-

<sup>1</sup> John xii. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. xxxiv. 6.

dence of his resurrection. They were too much blinded by national prejudices to understand the Scriptures, that Christ was to die and rise again; and were too closely pressed with grief to admit a due consideration of his instructions and promises to them. They therefore mourned and wept: and what was reported and affirmed by the women did but add perplexity to their sorrow.

§. 2. In such a mood did Cleopas and another disciple set out that day for Emmaus.\* It is not said who that disciple was. If he had been an apostle, St. Luke would surely have named him with Cleopas, or in preference to him. It is in many respects an unhappy conjecture that it was St. Peter. These two being joined on the road by Christ related to him a part, and a part only, of the women's testimony. Did they then know the whole? I think it evident they did; and that it may be concluded,

First, from the time at which they must have set out. On drawing near to Emmaus they observed that it was towards evening and the day was far spent. The word used by St. Luke for Evening<sup>2</sup> includes no part of it that is before the setting of the sun; which then went down about six; and therefore towards evening, or the setting of the sun, could not well be earlier than five. They had not quite completed seven miles and an half; for the walking of which if we allow three hours to men inured to exercise, we allow full enough. Yet say

<sup>1</sup> Luke xxiv. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Ἑσπέρα. See p. 79.

they had been five hours on the road, it must still have been noon when they left Jerusalem: before which time all that the women had told of their morning's occurrences would be known among the disciples, and to Cleopas in particular, the father or husband of one of the Maries principally concerned.

Secondly, from a part of the conversation of Cleopas :

“Yea, and certain women also of our company made us astonished, which were early at the sepulchre: and when they found not his body, they came telling it, and that they had also seen a vision of angels, which said that he was alive. And certain of them which were with us went to the sepulchre, and found it so as the women had said; but him they saw not.” Luke xxiv. 22—24.

This passage has just now been considered to prove that “Certain of them which were with us” means St. Peter principally if not solely:<sup>1</sup> and St. Luke, who, as I apprehend, keeps here to the exact order of time, places St. Peter’s visit to the sepulchre after the return of all the women from it to the apostles and disciples. St. Peter therefore then knew as well what the two Maries as what Joanna and the women with her had affirmed: and what was known of this matter by St. Peter would be known also by Cleopas. Besides this, Cleopas I think discovers indirectly that he had heard what the women declared concerning the appearance of Christ to them. He

<sup>1</sup> See Index of Texts; Luke xxiv. 24.



mentions two things reported by them : one, that they found not his body ; and another, that they had seen a vision of angels, who said that he was alive. He subjoins, that some of their company going to the sepulchre perceived the first part of the report to be true. But of the second what does he say ? We expect to hear " But the Angels they saw not : " instead of which his words are " But Him they saw not. " Why this expectation of seeing Him grounded on the testimony of the women, unless it had been part of their testimony, that Him they had seen ?

But if Cleopas was apprized of the stronger part of the women's evidence, how happened it that he mentioned only the weaker ? St. Augustin conjectures, that, not knowing with whom he was conversing, he might be cautious of propagating news that might bring him under the lash of the Jewish rulers. But it is much more likely that, feeling from the very first an intire confidence in the stranger who had joined them, he had no such apprehensions. Still it might not suit with the melancholy state of his mind to say more than he did. He might be rather disposed to indulge his sorrow for the loss of his Lord, than to check it by dwelling on reports of his resurrection, which he regarded as visionary tales.

And yet after all, is it certain that he had done speaking on the subject ? Our Lord, who chose that he should show his sentiments but did not need his information, might then see proper to interpose, and to begin his address to him and his companion without allowing him time to proceed in his narrative.

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They who do not admit that the two disciples knew the whole report of the women suppose Joanna and her company, who went latest to the sepulchre, to have been the first of these women that found their way back from it to the apostles; and Cleopas, having heard only their intelligence, to have set out early in the forenoon for Emmaus, without waiting for the tidings which Mary, his wife or daughter, might bring from the same place on so interesting an occasion. This appears a less probable and less natural account of the matter than that which has been offered; which creates no embarrassment in the history of the women, but brings it down in a simple and easy manner.

§. 3. Though there were but ten of the apostles present when Christ first showed himself to them, St. Luke calls them the Eleven;\* either because it was, just at that time, the title of the Apostolical College; or because St. Matthias, who was soon after to be adopted into it, was there, and by anticipation is numbered as one of it. With these there were other disciples present; but, it is likely, not many. They stood in fear of the Jews; and, that they might not give umbrage to them, would think it prudent not to meet together in too large a number.

\* xxiv. 33.

## O B S E R V A T I O N S

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## S E C T I O N VIII.

## WEEK FOLLOWING THE RESURRECTION.

1. *They who had seen Christ endeavour to convince the residue, but without much success.*
2. *The nature of their incredulity.*
3. *St. Thomas's declaration.*
4. *One ground of his incredulity.*

§. 1. **O**UR Lord on the morning of his resurrection showed himself first to some of those pious women, who had ministered to him living; and studied to honour his crucified body with a zeal and tenderness of dutiful attachment. After this he appeared on the same day three times to the men: first to St. Peter, as chief of the apostles; next to Cleopas and his friend, as representatives of the other disciples; and thirdly to a mixt company of them. These, being all thoroughly satisfied themselves, laboured on the next and following days to convince their fellow disciples: in which endeavours  
Cleopas



Cleopas and his companion, to whom Christ had vouchsafed so much of his conversation, took an active part.<sup>1</sup>

§. 2. But incredulity still prevailed among the residue. They allowed, it is most likely, so many of their friends affirming the same thing, that they had seen him *Living*, but would not be persuaded that they had seen him *Risen*. The resurrection of his crucified body was the insuperable difficulty with St. Thomas, who spoke their common sentiments. "He thought it not impossible," as Origen observes, "that the Soul of a departed person might be seen; but he could not think it true that he was risen again with the same body: and therefore his speech was not Except I shall see him I shall not believe; but Except I shall see in his hands the print of the nails, and thrust my hand into his side, I shall not believe."<sup>2</sup>

§. 3. Our Translation seems not to do justice to St. Thomas.<sup>3</sup> It makes him profess a resolution not to believe; when he may mean only an inability to believe but on certain conditions. "I *shall* not believe" is a version no less faithful, and more equitable, than "I *will* not believe."

§. 4. The miraculous manner in which Christ came into the room, the doors being shut and fastened, was a proof to those that were present, that it

<sup>1</sup> Mark xvi. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Origen against Celsus, B. ii. p. 97.

<sup>3</sup> John xx. 25.

was he himself, not any man who attempted to personate him. But the same circumstance might contribute to the incredulity of St. Thomas and others that were absent, and confirm their suspicions that it was only his spirit not a real body which had thus entered. As a plain and easy refutation of which, our Lord might choose to come into the room the second time just in the same manner.\*

\* Compare ver. 19 and 26.

#### OBSERVATIONS

## O B S E R V A T I O N S

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## S E C T I O N IX.

SUNDAY AFTER THE RESURRECTION.

1. *The second appearance of Christ to a number of his disciples before they left Jerusalem.*
2. *This the appearance mentioned by St. Mark.*
3. *An appointment made for seeing him in Galilee.*

§. 1. **I**T is not recorded that our Lord showed himself to any of his disciples during the week that followed his resurrection: but on the octave of it he vouchsafed them another visit; and it was in the place where they had seen him on the first day. This we infer from St. John; <sup>1</sup> who distinguishes the scenes of the other appearances of Christ, but connects this with the preceding by a circumstance common to both: "The doors were shut, where the disciples were assembled, for fear of the Jews;" <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> John xx. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. 16.

that



that is, of the Jewish rulers. They were therefore still in Jerusalem, where chiefly, if not solely, such caution was necessary. Yet experience of security for the past week in some, and in others trust in their Lord whom they had seen risen, would considerably abate their first fears, and encourage them probably to assemble in a larger company than on the preceding Sunday: and it is likely that with the Eleven now together were present several disciples that were not apostles.

§. 2. To this time we must refer, with Maldonate and some other commentators, the last verse of the following passage of St. Mark :

“ After that he appeared in another form unto two of them, as they walked and went into the country. And they went and told it unto the residue: neither believed they them.

Afterward he appeared unto the Eleven, as they sat at meat, and upbraided them with their unbelief and hardness of heart, because they believed not them which had seen him after he was risen.” xvi. 12—14.

The difficulties which some have found in reconciling this part of St. Mark with the other Evangelists have arisen from a hasty conclusion, that he is here speaking of the appearance of Christ to his disciples on the evening of his resurrection; with which it certainly does not agree.

In strictness the apostles then present were not eleven; for St. Thomas was not with them: nor  
were

were they sitting at meat ; for our Lord's question, " Have ye here any meat," implies that either they had not begun their repast, or, which is more probable from the time and the fragment which they produced, Luke xxiv. 42. that they had ended it, and set away the remains of it. But we need not lay any stress on these circumstances. One, which it is much more difficult to reconcile with the appearance of the first evening, is contained in these words :

" And they went and told it unto the residue : neither believed they them."

Most undoubtedly these " two of them " mentioned by St. Mark were Cleopas and his companion. But they returned late in the evening to Jerusalem, and repaired directly to the assembly of the apostles ; where they found no disposition to disbelieve them, but on the contrary were saluted on entering the room with this voice of the company : " The Lord is risen indeed and hath appeared to Simon ;" Luke xxiv. 34. They therefore whom St. Mark calls the Residue, and who did not believe them, were they who had not yet seen the Lord. But to these they could not relate their story till after their interview with the apostles. It must have been the next day and in the course of the following week that they met with such instances of incredulity. But then this week must have preceded the time of which St. Mark says, " Afterward he appeared unto the Eleven." For if we understand " Afterward " as equivalent in this place to Thirdly, still this third appear-

appearance cannot with any propriety or likelihood be placed before the report of Cleopas and his friend to the Residue ; which, as we have seen, could not be made till after the day of the resurrection.

It may be observed that instead of " Afterward " the old Italic version, which I presume was used by St. Augustin, had " Lastly : " and this is the reading of the Vulgate ; which may be admitted if we understand " Lastly " of the last appearance of Christ to his disciples at Jerusalem. But whether St. Mark said " Afterward " or " Lastly," he could mean no other appearance ; as is plain from another of his expressions :

" He upbraided them with their unbelief, and hardness of heart."

St. Luke and St. John both describe the first appearance of Christ to his disciples, and neither of them gives the least intimation of any thing like reproof which they then heard from the mouth of their affectionate Lord. The whole of his discourse and behaviour to them was directed at that time to the composing of their trouble and the satisfying of their dubious minds. Reprehension was reserved for the following Sunday ; when a whole week having been allowed to examine and compare the proofs of his resurrection, and to call to mind his own predictions and promises concerning it, They who continued incredulous were become more worthy of blame. Then, if he said no more by way of reproof than what he addressed to St. Thomas, it was a reprehension of the rest of the company that were  
in



in the same state of mind ; and it is sufficient to justify St. Mark's expression, "He upbraided them with their unbelief and hardness of heart." St. Mark says, "He appeared unto the Eleven:" and it was of consequence to inform us that he was seen by the apostles : but when he adds "And he upbraided them with their unbelief," he extends his view to all those whom he had spoken of as incredulous in the preceding verse.<sup>1</sup>

Neither St. Matthew nor St. Mark instances in more than one appearance of Christ to his apostles. St. Matthew, taking no notice of the appearances to them at Jerusalem, proceeds immediately to the mountain in Galilee. St. Mark had certainly the same liberty of choice, and might pass over the evening of the resurrection, and fix on the octave of it, if he judged it most to his purpose. The apostles were then all present, and, as we have reason to believe, other disciples in a greater number than before. The company consisted of those who had seen the Lord, and of those who had not seen him: which latter class of them St. Mark calls the Residue. And he might choose this time on account not only of the fulness of the assembly, but of the doctrine implied in our Lord's reprehension of the incredulous part of them, that they who reject the attestations given of his resurrection, because they themselves have never seen him, plead an excuse that will not justify their unbelief in his sight.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Whithy on Luke v. 17.

<sup>2</sup> See West on the Resurrection, p. 299.

§. 3. Our Lord sent word by the women to the disciples, that they should go into Galilee, and there they should see him. After they had received this message they staid still a week in Jerusalem. We may therefore presume, that at his first appearance to them he gave some intimation that they should not leave the city till they had further directions from him; and in like manner that in his second interview he appointed the place and time of meeting them again in Galilee.

## OBSERVATIONS

## O B S E R V A T I O N S

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## S E C T I O N X.

A N D

THE TRANSACTIONS ON THE MOUNTAIN IN  
GALILEE :

MATTH. xxviii. 16—18.

**T**HE appearance of Christ to his disciples on the mountain in Galilee was by promise and appointment ; which we do not learn to have been the case of any preceding. St. Matthew passing over all the intermediate appearances to the men carries the view of his reader directly to this. Here the disciples were prepared to expect a sight of the Lord ; whom they beheld in an open space and light ; first, as it seems, at some distance ; and then coming to them,<sup>\*</sup> and conversing with them in his usual manner and voice : where there could be no fear of their Jewish adversaries to discompose their minds. We may reckon it another advantage of this appearance, that it must have been of great notoriety. For though St. Matthew speaks only of the Eleven as present at it, it is judged by the learned in general

<sup>\*</sup> See Index of Texts ; Matth. xxviii. 18.



to have been that which is mentioned by St. Paul: "After that he was seen of above five hundred brethren at once."<sup>1</sup> Five hundred brethren from different parts of Palestine would afford most of its Jewish inhabitants an opportunity of knowing the truth from some of the eye-witnesses, if they were desirous of inquiring into it; and must quickly spread the fame of such an event throughout the whole country.

St. Matthew's words, "But some doubted,"<sup>2</sup> are to be rendered, in the judgement of Grotius, "But some had doubted;"<sup>3</sup> in which sense they may refer to the incredulity of the Eleven and those that were with them, till they were convinced by ocular demonstration. But if our Translation is preferred, and it seems preferable, the words must be understood of those who had not seen the Lord before, and doubted, as others had done, till they beheld him nigh at hand. When they first saw him at a distance, they might worship him as present, with some doubts whether he was really present in the body. And these doubts might not be thoroughly removed, till they had a full and near inspection of his person. If the latter is St. Matthew's meaning, it shows, that although he mentions only the Eleven, he supposes others to have been with them on this occasion: for before this time every one of the apostles was perfectly satisfied; and they who doubted must have been others of the disciples.

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 6.

<sup>2</sup> xxviii. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Quidam vero addubitaverant. Grotius on the place.

## O B S E R V A T I O N S

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## S E C T I O N XI.

1. *Appearance by the sea of Tiberias in what order to be placed.*
2. *The Apostles the chosen witnesses.*

§. 1. **I** THINK the appearance by the sea of Tiberias, John xxi. is rightly placed after that on the mountain of Galilee.\*

St. John having related two appearances of Christ at Jerusalem, and going next to relate this by the sea of Tiberias, prefixes to it the following sentence :

“ And many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of his disciples, which are not written in this book.” xx. 30.

As the sentence stands connected, we conclude from it, 1. that St. John considers the appearances of Christ to men on earth after his resurrection as instances of the same divine power by which he had risen from the dead, and done his other wonderful

\* See Pilkington in the Index.

works; and that he includes all under the name of "signs:" 2. that the word "Many" refers to these signs in common, to the appearances after the resurrection as well as the miracles prior to it, and signifies that "many" of both sorts "are not written in this book." 3. The same observation in substance being made by St. John soon after, in the end of his Gospel, the interrupting of his narration to insert it in this place seems an intimation, that the two appearances between which it is inserted are not necessarily to be regarded as next in succession to each other, because they are so disposed by him; there being many which he has omitted. He does indeed say of the appearance by the sea of Tiberias, "This is now the third time that Jesus showed himself to his disciples after that he was risen from the dead," xxi. 14. And so it is of the appearances to them related by himself. But in other respects it is rather a third than the third time in which Jesus showed himself to his disciples.\* He had been seen by St. Peter, by Cleopas and his companion, and twice by the general company of the apostles, before this time. Nor can it be said that St. John enumerates only those appearances that were to the whole or main body of the disciples: for in that sense the appearance in question can hardly be reckoned a third; no more than seven disciples being present at it, of whom we are not certain that above four were apostles.

Thus the order of this appearance not being

\* Wall's Critical Notes on the New Testament. See on John xxi. 14.



ascertained by the place where it stands in St. John, nor by his words "This is now the third time," it must be settled by other considerations.

St. Matthew says, "Then the eleven disciples went away into Galilee, into a mountain where Jesus had appointed them," xxviii. 16. And from these words we infer, that on leaving Jerusalem they went thither without parting company; and that our Lord fixed the time as well as place of seeing him in Galilee. Now his tender love for his people would induce him, as we may reasonably as well as piously believe, to gratify their desires in the time named by him, that they who had not yet beheld his triumph over the grave might be blessed with being joyful witnesses of it. On this account we conclude that the time named by him was as early as could suit their convenience in assembling.<sup>1</sup>

But the appearance by the sea of Tiberias is said by St. John to have been "After these things;" xxi. 1. that is, I apprehend, at some distance from the last interview between Christ and his disciples at Jerusalem. They were no longer all together when it happened: and in it our Lord seems to hold a sort of farewell discourse with St. Peter; and to address himself to him in such manner, as if he was no more to talk with Him in particular, but only, between their return to Jerusalem and his ascension, to

<sup>1</sup> Dr. John Richardson bishop of Ardagh, whose Harmony of the Gospels is mentioned with much esteem by Mr. Pilkington, Preface p. xiii. placed this appearance after that on the mountain in Galilee. See Pilkington's Notes on his Harmony, p. 64. Mr. Pilkington however was of a different opinion.

ſpeak of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God to the apoſtles and diſciples in common.

§. 2. Seven diſciples were preſent on this occaſion ; but St. John names only five of them : and if the prevailing opinion is true that Nathanael is Bartholomew, it is obſervable that of the number of men who ſaw Chriſt after his reſurrection no one that was not an apoſtle is mentioned by name, except Cleopas. Though Chriſt had at the ſame time many other ſervants of approved zeal and fidelity, and ready alſo to bear witneſs to the truth by dying for it ; yet the Evangelists ſtill direct our eyes to thoſe who were choſen before of God to be the ſtanding witneſſes of the reſurrection of his only Son ; intent chiefly on ſhowing that they had infallible proofs of it. St. Matthew, the only one of the Four who records the appearance on the mountain of Galilee, has left the largeneſs of the aſſembly to its notoriety among his countrymen, and ſpoken of no more than “ the Eleven ” as preſent at it,<sup>1</sup> though indeed he may be well underſtood to ſignify that there were more.

<sup>1</sup> xxviii. 16.

## O B S E R V A T I O N S

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## S E C T I O N XII.

A N D

THE TRANSACTIONS FROM THE RETURN OF  
THE APOSTLES TO JERUSALEM TO  
CHRIST'S ASCENSION.

OUR Lord conversed with his disciples from time to time in the space between his resurrection and ascension, "speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God." Few of these his last instructions are recorded in the Gospels: and it is not possible to fix the exact order and time of these few. Only there is reason to think, that what is here placed in the last Section was all spoken when the apostles were returned to Jerusalem. When he was risen, his first order to them was to go into Galilee, and that there they should see him. When therefore he commanded them to tarry in the city of Jerusalem until they were endued with power from on high,<sup>1</sup> the injunction must have been given after

<sup>1</sup> Luke xxiv. 49.

they



they were come back from Galilee before the feast of Pentecost. Now with this order to tarry in Jerusalem the instructions contained in the last chapter of St. Luke, from the end of the forty-third verse, are considered by learned harmonists as more nearly connected in point of time, than with the words immediately foregoing. And to the same latter part of the forty days they refer all that is said in St. Matthew from the end of the eighteenth verse, and in St. Mark from the end of the fourteenth, of their concluding chapters.

Bethany, whence our Lord ascended, was on the eastern side of mount Olivet, and fifteen furlongs, or near two miles, from Jerusalem. But a sabbath day's journey is reckoned only six furlongs, or three quarters of a mile. When therefore St. Luke tells us in the end of his Gospel that our Lord, at the time of his ascension, "led his disciples out as far as to Bethany;"<sup>1</sup> and in the Acts, "Then returned they unto Jerusalem from the mount called Olivet, which is from Jerusalem a sabbath day's journey;"<sup>2</sup> his meaning in the latter place is, that the foot, or first rise, of the mountain itself, not the very spot of Christ's ascension from it, is at that distance from Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> xxiv. 50.

<sup>2</sup> i. 12.

<sup>3</sup> See Reland's Palestine, Vol. II. p. 629, 630.

## CONCLUSION.

**S**T. Paul mentions five appearances of Christ to his disciples between his resurrection and ascension :

“ He was seen of Cephas : then of the Twelve ; after that he was seen of above five hundred brethren at once ; of whom the greater part remain unto this present ; but some are fallen asleep : after that he was seen of James : then of all the apostles.”  
1 Cor. xv. 5—7.

Of these appearances all but the fourth may be reduced to those that are recorded in the Gospels.

1. “ He was seen of Cephas ;” on the day of the resurrection ; Luke xxiv. 34.

2. “ Then of the Twelve ;” on the evening of that day and of the Sunday following ; John xx. 19 and 26. upon which latter occasion the apostles by the presence of St. Matthias would be literally twelve.

3. “ After that of above five hundred brethren at once ;” on the mountain in Galilee, “ where Jesus had appointed them,” according to St. Matthew xxviii. 16. For it is generally thought that he and St. Paul here speak of the same appearance. It was  
about

about twenty-six years after the Resurrection, as Chronologers compute, when St. Paul said, "Of whom the greater part remain unto this present."

4. "After that of James;" of James the less, as it is reputed; so called to distinguish him from James the son of Zebedee and brother of John. The Gospels are silent concerning this appearance: St. Paul places it after that to the five hundred.

5. "Then of all the apostles."

We may presume that after the return of the apostles out of Galilee to Jerusalem our Lord showed himself not only to them, at different times, but to others of his faithful followers; and that all these were witnesses of his ascension in particular. For St. Paul does not confine the name of apostles to the Twelve, but extends it to others who were of note in the church.<sup>1</sup> In this place it may comprehend all those, on whom the Spirit descended on the day of Pentecost.

The Gospels give us no intimation that our Lord's continuance on earth after his resurrection was forty days. St. John, who seems to extend it the furthest, relates only one appearance that did not fall within the first eight days. St. Matthew does not go beyond the appearance on the mountain in Galilee, which he seems to place early. And on reading St. Mark, nay even St. Luke, we should be apt to conclude, that the Ascension quickly followed the

<sup>1</sup> See Index of Texts; 2 Cor. viii. 23.



Resurrection. Yet St. Luke,<sup>1</sup> and doubtless every one of the Evangelists, had an exact knowledge of the time when Christ "was parted from them and carried up into heaven." If they do not always observe the real order, or note the precise time, of certain facts which they mention, it is no proof that they were not perfectly acquainted with both.

The variations, which are supposed to abound particularly in this part of their writings, are among the proofs that we have the history of our Lord's resurrection in its original state. Changes made in it would have been such as were imagined best suited to reduce their narrations to a greater agreement with each other.

We learn indeed from St. Jerom that such things had been practised in the Latin versions of the Gospels.<sup>2</sup> Portions of these were read in the public service of the church; and the collections of them were called *Evangelitaria*; or, if they contained all that was read in every service, *Evangelia plenaria*. In different places they might have been translated from the Greek verity, to use St. Jerom's own expression, by different persons, and modeled as he relates. And one would be inclined to think that his tragical complaints of the confusion introduced into the Latin Gospels respected these books principally if not solely. For there was a Latin translation of the Scriptures, received long before his time into the

<sup>1</sup> Acts i. 3.

<sup>2</sup> In Evangelistas ad Damasum Præfatio.

Western and African churches, called the Italic; to which St. Augustin gives the preference before other versions, as adhering more closely to the words of the original, and with greater clearness of diction:<sup>1</sup> and on this he seems to have grounded his interpretations when he composed his treatise of the Consent of the Evangelists; where not only his references and quotations agree with our present Greek text, but his own remarks upon it suppose it to have been exactly as we now have it; except in one or two immaterial articles, in which he agrees more with the Vulgate. I am here speaking particularly of the History of the Resurrection. Whatever seeming discordances of fact or expression interpreters of the original, or expositors of translations from it, now labour to harmonize, the very same had St. Augustin to contend with in the work just mentioned: so that the evangelical histories of the Resurrection, deemed to contain greater difficulties to conciliate than any other part of the New Testament, continue precisely as he found and had received them from the church of elder times.

In this tract St. Augustin observes that "the Evangelists bear witness mutually to each other even in some things which they themselves do not relate, by showing that they knew them to have been *spoken*."<sup>2</sup> We may add, that they bear the like witness to each other in other things which they themselves do not record, by showing that they knew them to have

<sup>1</sup> See Index under Augustin No. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See *ibid.* No. 3.

been *done*. The parts of their writings which we have been considering are not without proofs of the truth of the observation.

St. Matthew, who mentions no appearance of Christ to his disciples prior to that on the mountain of Galilee, yet testifies that this was not the first. He says, "Then the eleven disciples went away into Galilee, into a mountain where Jesus had appointed them," xxviii. 16. When had he made this appointment with them? Not in his promise before his Passion, Matth. xxvi. 32. Not in his messages to them after his resurrection, Matth. xxviii. 7. and 10. The assurance given them in all these places, as far as appears, is only that they should see him in Galilee. He names no particular spot of it in any. Yet such a place had been appointed by him, as St. Matthew informs us. Thus he signifies, that our Lord had showed himself to his disciples before they left Jerusalem; and had there directed them to the precise spot in Galilee to which they should repair that they might see him again.

St. Mark, who describes Mary Magdalene as going with two others to the sepulchre, and then relates the appearance of the angel to the women, says soon after, that "Jesus appeared first to Mary Magdalene;" that is, to her singly. Although therefore he has taken no notice that she left her two friends at the sepulchre while she ran to Peter and John, by

\* xvi, 9.



this he shows plainly, that he knew of the separation that had taken place for a while between her and them.

Having told us that our Lord appeared first to Mary Magdalene, he says, "After that he appeared in another form unto two of them as they walked and went into the country."<sup>1</sup> How in another form? He has not intimated that there was any change from our Lord's usual appearance, either when Mary Magdalene or these two disciples first saw him. He alludes therefore to circumstances, which he does not stay to relate, but leaves to be explained by succeeding Evangelists; of whom St. John tells us that our Lord seemed to Mary Magdalene the gardener when he first spoke to her; St. Luke, that when he joined the two disciples on the way to Emmaus, they took him for a stranger going from Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup>

St. Luke says of St. Peter at the sepulchre, "Stooping down he beheld only the linen clothes (the Othonia) lying."<sup>3</sup> He had told us before, that Joseph of Arimathea having taken down the body of Christ from the cross wrapped it in a Sindon: in which only, for any thing that he says about the interment, it might have been deposited in the sepulchre. Yet now he speaks of the Othonia, and shows that he was acquainted with a circumstance

<sup>1</sup> Ib. 12.

<sup>2</sup> The same explication of this Text is given by Dr. Lardner in "Observations on Dr. Macknight's Harmony." 4to. p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> xxiv. 12.

long after related by St. John, that Joseph and Nicodemus wound the body with the spices in these Othonia.

He says of the women, "They found the stone rolled away from the sepulchre:"<sup>1</sup> in like manner St. John of Mary Magdalene, "She seeth the stone taken away from the sepulchre."<sup>2</sup> Neither of these Evangelists had informed us in what manner the sepulchre had been closed. They suppose the fact related by St. Matthew and St. Mark, that Joseph of Arimathea had secured the sepulchre by rolling a great stone to the door of it; and thus attest its reality.

St. John represents Mary Magdalene, when she ran to St. Peter and himself, as saying to them, "They have taken away the Lord out of the sepulchre, and we know not where they have laid him;" but as replying to the question of the two angels, "Woman, why weepest thou," by saying, "Because they have taken away my Lord and I know not where they have laid him." To the apostles she expressed the concern of her two friends as well as her own, and there said, "we" know not;<sup>3</sup> to the angels whose question was personal to her she was to account for her own tears, and here said, "I" know not.<sup>4</sup> In this instance we find St. John describing her as alone; in the other bearing witness that she had gone with company to the sepulchre.

<sup>1</sup> Luke xxiv. 2.

<sup>2</sup> xx. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Ib. 13.

If we took a larger view of this subject, we should perceive it opening upon us, and a variety of examples justifying the remark, that "the Evangelists bear witness mutually to each other even in some things which they do not relate by showing that they knew them."

These and such like documents as these, interwoven with the sacred text, must help to convince a careful and candid inquirer that we have the history of Christ just as the Evangelists wrote it, and to satisfy him, on what grounds and with what qualifications they composed their Gospels.

They allude, as we have seen, to things which they do not mention, sometimes to such as had been written, frequently to those which had not been recorded. In both cases it is done, as perfect masters of a subject glance at circumstances of it which they do not stop to explain.

On some occasions they see fit to adopt much of the language and recital one of another. But on comparing them it will be found, that he who succeeds relates things as a well-instructed independent witness of the same facts, not as a copyer of the other.

Each of them has a peculiarity of method and design in treating the same argument; contracting or enlarging, omitting or adding, and setting the same object in a different point of light, as his own proposed method and design led him.

Yet



Yet a spirit of accurate consistency runs through their works thus diversified: so that fitly framed together by a skilful hand they unite into a body of history that is harmonious in all its constituent parts. And to what can this be ascribed but to the energy of the Original before them?

But there is no original or pattern to the first authors of historical relation to bring and keep them to this perpetual consent under different views, and in the small and less observable as well as striking features of that which is delineated by them, except the real existence of it.

Such therefore, that is, facts really existent in time, place, and manner, as they are described, were, with the other parts of this holy history, the Resurrection, the Appearances, and the Ascension, of our Lord Jesus Christ.

To Him be praise and glory and adoration in all the churches of the saints. Amen.

T H E   E N D.

**TWO INDEXES:**  
**ONE OF**  
**TEXTS OF SCRIPTURE;**  
**THE OTHER OF**  
**PERSONS AND THINGS.**

---

It has been the Author's endeavour to render all that is contained in the foregoing pages intelligible and plain to mere English readers: citations therefore from the learned languages, and criticisms on the original text of the Evangelists, are thrown into Notes ranged under proper heads in the following Indexes.

[Omissions of references in the preceding pages to the following Indexes :

- Page 21. *After* "preparation" in v. 62. }  
 37. ——— "came" in v. 1. } to "Index of Texts."  
 61. *At the end of* v. 3.  
 71. ——— v. 19.  
 78. 1. penult. *After* "time" refer *thus* : "See Index of  
 Texts; Matth. xiv. 15."  
 85. 1. 16. *After* "spices" *thus* : "See Spices in the  
 Index."  
 148. 1. 7. *After* "Witfius" *thus* : "See Witfius in the  
 Index."  
 160. 1. 2. *After* "Peter" *thus* : "See Index of Texts;  
 Luke xxiv. 24."  
 163. 1. 20. *After* "Emmaus" *thus* : "See Emmaus in  
 the Index."  
 164. 1. 13. *After* "alive" *thus* : "See Index of Texts;  
 Luke xxiv. 23."  
 179. Note. *After* "14" *thus* : "Index of Texts."

*The Editor.*]



## I N D E X

O F

## TEXTS OF SCRIPTURE.

## DEUTERONOMY.

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xxxiv. 6 162

## 2 SAMUEL.

xxiii. 15 102

So Psalm xiv. 7. translated  
"O, that the Salvation  
of Israel were come out  
of Sion," is in the origi-  
nal "Who will give  
Salvation, &c." See the  
marginal reading.

## 2 CHRONICLES.

xvi. 14 85

See under John xix. 39.

xxi. 19 85

## NEHEMIAH.

ii. 13, 14 148

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xxii. 16. See under Sepul-  
chre.

Liii. 9 18. 87

Lx. 5. See under Matth.

xxviii. 8.

## J E R E M I A H.

xxxiv. 5 85

## M A T T H E W.

xii. 9. See under xxviii. 1.

xiv. 12. See *ibid.*

xiv. 15. 23. A Jewish even-  
ing was reckoned from  
about that time.] St.  
Matthew here calls it  
evening, Ὠψια, before  
the feeding of the five  
thousand; and when our  
Lord had dismissed the  
multitude, sent away his  
disciples in a ship, and  
was gone up into a moun-  
tain to pray, he still says,  
ver. 23, speaking of the  
same day, "When the  
evening, Ὠψια, was  
come." St. Luke, who  
never uses this word, de-  
scribes the earlier of the  
two times by saying  
"When the day began to  
wear away." Luke ix. 12. 78  
xxi. 7. See under Luke  
xxiv. 24.

## M A T T H E W.

## MATTHEW.

- xxiv. 2. See under Sepulchre.
- xxvi. 12. See under John
- xix. 40.
- 31—34 122, 123
- 32 188
- xxvii. 16 92
51. See under Sepulchre.
- 55, 56 15
- 56 77
- 57 78
- 57, 58 17
- 59 79
- 59—61 19, 89
60. See under Sepulchre.
- 61 84
62. Now the next day that followed the day of the preparation] St. Matthew here speaks as one versed in the Hebrew ritual, and could not have determined the time, which he is speaking of, with greater certainty than he has thus done. 21. 91
- 62—66 21. 125
63. After three days, &c.] See Whitby on Mark viii. 31. Note gg. 21
- 64 83
- 66 84
- xxviii. 1 84
1. In the end of the sabbath] Himerius, as quoted by Wettstein on the verse, says Ὁψὶ καὶ ἑσπέρα διαφέρει. Ἑσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ ἡ μετὰ τὴν δύσιν τῆ ἡμέρας ὥρα· Ὁψὶ δὲ ἡ μετὰ πολὺ τῆς δύσεως, καὶ καθόλου μετὰ πολλὸν χρόνον. See further on the phrase Grotius on the place, Bp. Newcome's Notes on his Harmony, &c. 22, 23
- xxviii. 1. Word of the original to go] Xenophon, among others, uses ἔρχομαι and ἔλθω frequently in the sense of going as well as coming; and sometimes in both senses in the compass of two or three sentences. See Cyropæd. B. vi. in the conference between Cyrus and Araspes, p. 423. Ed. Hutchinson, 4to. See also Hutchinson's Note 2. p. 420. Places of the New Testament where ἔρχομαι is rendered to go are the following: Matth. xii. 9. xiv. 12. Luke ii. 44. John iv. 45. vi. 17. xxi. 3. Acts xxviii. 14. Compare ver. 16. ἔλθω is rendered both to come and to go, John iv. 45. and vi. 17. 97, 98
- 2 82
2. He came and rolled back the stone] St. Matthew's word is Προσελθὼν: the same as he uses again ver. 18. where Grotius translates it Accedens. 100
- 2—4 25
5. Not always between persons or parties both present] When our Lord said to his disciples, Mark xiii. 23. Ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐλπίετε, no one was present but his own disciples; certainly none of those, of whom they were to take heed. See again ver. 29. 101
- 5—8 27. 136
- 6 82. 103. 133. 134

MATTHEW.

MATTHEW.

xxviii. 7 121. 188

8. They departed quickly from the sepulchre] The Evangelists use *ἔξελθόν* in the same sense as *ἔξελθόν* *ἔξ*, exire. See Luke iv. 35. and compare Mark v. 30. with Luke viii. 46. 27. 83, 84

Ib. With fear and great joy] Bishop Lowth translates Isaiah lx. 5. "Then shalt thou fear and overflow with joy;" and illustrates the sentiment thus expressed by parallel passages, sacred and profane. To the latter may be added, from the first of Pindar's Nemean Odes,

*Ἔσα δὲ θάμβῃ δυσφύρῳ  
Τερπνὴν τὲ μυχθεῖς.* 27

8 108

8—10 114

9 119

9, 10 33

10 121. 188

11 101

11—15 35. 125

13 93

16 180, 181. 184. 188

16, 17 57

16—18 176

17 177

18. St. Matthew's words are *Καὶ προσελθὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς*. This intimates that when he first appeared it was at a distance, at least from many of the spectators. See under ver.

2. of this chapter. 58. 176

19, 20 69. 183

xxviii. 20 71

MARK.

iv. 6. See under xvi. 2.

v. 30. See under Matth.

xxviii. 8.

vi. 48. See under xvi. 2.

vii. 30. See under John xx. 1.

xiii. 1. See under Sepulchre.

23. 29. See under Matth.

xxviii. 5.

35 98

See under xvi. 2.

xv. 40 77. 129

40, 41 15. 113

42 78

42—45 17

43 79

46 79

46, 47 19

47 94. 129

xvi. 1 23. 94. 130

See under John xix. 39.

2. Early - in - the - morning.

*Πρωῖ.*] St. Mark speaks,

vi. 48. of the fourth watch

of the night, and xiii. 35.

he thus enumerates them:

*Ὅψις, ἡ μεσονυκτίου, ἡ ἀλεκ-*

*τοροφωνίας, ἡ πρωῖ:* by which

he shows that he uses *πρωῖ*

as synonymous to the

fourth watch. And so says

Godwyn in his Moses and

Aaron, B. iii. Chap. 1.

p. 81, 82: "*Πρωῖ*, the

dawning, signifies the last

quarter of the night, cal-

led the morning watch."

23. 98, 99

Ib. And very early in the

morning, the first day of

the week, they came unto

the sepulchre, at the ris-

ing of the sun.] Here

Very early in the morn-

ing, *λίαν πρωῖ*, must note

the



the time at which they set out: The rising of the sun, the time when they arrived at the sepulchre. For these two distinct actions there is but one verb *ἔρχονται*: which is first to be taken in the sense of going, and then understood in that of coming or arriving. This hard and not common ellipsis would be avoided, if we might adopt the reading of Ammonius, in the Latin of Victor Capuanus, (see Mill on the verse) and which is found also in the Æthiopic versions (see p. 54. of Bishop Newcome's Notes on his Harmony). This reading differs only from the received text by placing *καὶ* before *Ἀνατίλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου*, instead of after it: The women set out very early; and at the rising of the sun said among themselves, Who shall roll us away the stone? This small variation, by the transposition of *καὶ*, renders the sense and diction so perspicuous, that I cannot help wishing there was ampler authority for it. 23. 25. 98, 99. 130

xvi. 2. At the rising of the sun]

I have submitted to the authority of our Translators and Grotius in this rendering of *Ἀνατίλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου*. Yet I see not that any great inconvenience could arise from the more literal and grammatical transla-

tion, as Mark iv. 6. When the sun was up. This he might be said to be, as soon as his whole orb became visible; and till the upper limb of it was very near the horizon he could hardly be said to be rising: so that between the two different constructions there needs be but the difference of a few minutes. But the more grammatical sense would be decidedly against an interpretation for which some contend of the ninth verse. If the sun was up when Mary Magdalene reached the sepulchre, *Πρῶτον* cannot possibly apply to our Lord's appearance to her; it can relate only to the time of his resurrection. 25. 98, 99

2—4	25
3	101, 102. 131
4	102
5	82. 133
5—8	27
6	103. 133. 139
7	121. 123
8	83. 105. 139
9	31. 33. 99. 103. 112, 113. 130. 188, See under ver. 2. of this chapter.

10	39
11	41
12	43. 189
12—14	171—174
13	53. 168
14	55. 57
14—20	127
15—17	69
15—20	183
18, 19	71

MARK.

M A R K.

xvi. 19. So after the Lord had spoken unto them, &c.] These words are quoted as the close of St. Mark's Gospel by Irenæus (B. iii. Chap. xi. p. 217. Ed. Grabe) an antient and venerable witness that the chapter never contained less than we now read in it. See also Pere Simon's Critical History of the New Testament, Part I. Chap. xii. Grotius on the beginning of the chapter; Beza's Note on the ninth, and Mill's on the eighth, verse.

20

L U K E.

ii. 44. See under Matthew xxviii. 1.  
iv. 35. See under Matth. xxviii. 8.  
v. 5. See under John xxi. 3.  
vii. 19, 20 154  
viii. 2, 3 77  
viii. 46. See under Matth. xxviii. 8.  
ix. 12. See under Matth. xiv. 15.  
x. 21 155  
xxi. 5. See under Sepulchre.  
xxiii. 49 15  
50—52 17  
51 79  
53 79  
53—56 19  
55, 56 89. 131, 132  
xxiv. 1 89. 98. 143—149  
Ib. Very early in the morning they came unto the sepulchre] Tempus hic notatur, non quo ad ipsum sepulchrum pervenerunt, sed quo ex urbe profectæ

sunt ut eo venirent. Quamobrem ἡλθεν converti Profectæ sunt.

Beza on the place. 37

xxiv. 1. And certain others with them] Hierosolymitanæ aliquot, quæ se mulieribus Galilæis adjunxerant. Neque enim delere has voces licet; quas et libri plurimi, et Syrus, et Arabs, agnoscunt; qui et τῶνς illud scæmineo genere rectè interpretantur. Grotius on the place. 127, 128

1—5 37  
1—9 132.  
2 190  
2—4 133, 134. 137  
3, 4 152  
4—8 149  
5 110. 138. 141  
6—9 139  
6—10 39  
9 132. 154. 155  
9—11 149—158  
10 73. 77. 116. 154, 155  
11, 12 41  
12 158—160. 189  
13—18 43  
13—24 163—165  
19—24 45  
21 161, 162  
22 88  
22—24 164  
23. And when they found not his body, &c.] "They said two things, viz. "That they had not found "the body of Jesus in the "sepulchre, and that they "had seen angels who declared him to be alive."  
Bp. Pearce's Comment. 164  
24 159  
Ib. As interpreted by St. Luke he means St. Peter]

It

It is not unusual to speak in an indefinite and plural manner, when only one person or thing is meant. It is frequently done by the sacred writers. Thus St. Matthew, xxi. 7. And brought the ass and colt, and put on them their clothes, and they set him *ἐπέθυσαν αὐτῷ*, that is *ἐπέθυσαν τῷ ὄντι*. So in Horace Epist. i. vii. 76. Vultei<sup>us</sup> Menas is said to have been *Impositus Mannis*; because he was mounted on one of the saddle horses belonging to Philippus.

160. 164  
xxiv. 25—31 47

29. Its proper name among the Greeks *Hespera* ] *Ἥσπερ*; *ἡσπερινή*. Solis occasus—deinde *Vespera*; quod a Græcis tractum est. Macro<sup>bii</sup> *Saturnalia*. Lib. I. Cap. iii. See also Himerius as quoted before from Wettstein on Matth. xxviii.

i. 79. 163  
32—37 49  
33 166  
34 41. 172. 184  
37 110  
38—43 51  
42 172  
44 67  
44—53 183  
45—49 69  
49 182, 183  
49—53 71  
50 183

## JOHN.

iv. 45. See under Matth. xxviii. i.

v. 16. See under xix. 40.

## JOHN.

vi. 17. See under Matth.

xxviii. i.

vii. 13. See under xix. 40.

xii. 34 162

xiv. 28 30

xvi. 28 30

xvi. 29, 30 124

xix. 25 15. 77

26, 27 17

27 147

32, 33 92

35 16

38 17

38—42 19

39. dry spices] "I suppose the myrrh and aloes used on this occasion were dry spices, reduced perhaps to powder; because it is said, They *wound* the body in linen clothes with the spices; whereas had they been liquid, it should rather have been said, They *anointed* the body with them, as the women intended to do, Mark xvi. i. And thus it may be replied to those, who rashly object that such a quantity of spices was unnecessary; first, that the tomb itself in which they laid the body of Christ might be filled with them in order to perfume it, as was usual in Scripture funerals, 2 Chron. xvi. 14. and secondly, that a part of them might be burned to excite a fragrant odour at the time of interment."

See *Observationes Sacr. in Novi Fœderis libros* by Kypke on the verse.

85  
JOHN



JOHN.

xix. 40. As the manner of the Jews is] "Mos saepe est Joanni vocem Ιουδαίων sumere κατ' ἐξοχὴν ut senatores significet, ut apparet mox ver. 13. Vide supra V. 16." Grotius on John vii. 11. With this agrees the paraphrase on the words by the late learned Bishop of London in a note on Isaiah liii. 9. "As the manner of the Jews was "to bury the rich and "great."

87

Ib. The word which we render to bury] "Ἐρραφιάζειν. "Vetus et Erasmus, Sepe- "lire; Beza et Piscator, "Funerare: quod rectius "esse videtur, si modo "Funerare fit Pollincere, "et ad sepulturam parare. "Τὸ ἔρραφιάζειν enim præ- "cedit, five prius est or- "dine; et τὸ θάπτειν se- quitur."

Johannis Boiffi "Veteris Interpretis cum Beza aliisque recentioribus Collatio." See also Bp. Pearce's

Note on Matth. xxvi. 12. 87

xx. 1 23. 25. 98. 143

Ib. She seeth the stone taken away] That is, she seeth that the stone had been taken away. Βλέπει τὸν λίθον ἡρμένον ἐκ τοῦ μνημείου: as Mark vii. 30. Ἐνυρὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐξελθούσας: which words Erasmus Schmidius translates Invenit dæmonium exiisse.

102. 190

2 27. 102. 107. 108. 146. 190

2—11 29

5 116

xx. 5—7 80

6 158. 160

6, 7 116

8 116

11 116

11—14 109

11—17 31

13 103. 190

14 103

14—18 110. 115

15 103

16 170

17. Detain me not now.]

Μὴ μὲ ἀπτε, That the word ἀπτεμαι is here to be used in the sense of holding and detaining, in which it is sometimes used in the Septuagint, is the judgement of several learned men; whose names and sentiments may be seen in Wolfius on the verse; and they have the approbation of this judicious Commentator.

30. 110. 124

17, 18 33

18. Mary Magdalene cometh to report] This is the proper rendering of Ἐρχεται ἀπαγγέλλουσα: Venit Maria Magdalena nuntiatum discipulis; as Castello translates the passage; and as Acts xv. 27. Ἀπαγγέλλοντες τὰ αὐτὰ means Eadem nuntiaturus; and Acts xxi. 3. Τὸ πλοῖον ἀποφορτιζόμενοι τὸν γόμον is translated There the ship was to unlade her burden: the participle present in these instances signifying something future. Compare 2 Pet. iii. 11. λυθμίνων: which is explained in the next verse by λυθμίνονται.

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31. See under xxi. 14.	
xxi. 1, 2	59
1—24	178—181
2—9	61
3. See under Matth. xxviii. 1.	
1b. That night they caught nothing] The night I presume was the proper time for fishing, Luke v. 5. And therefore Sophocles calls the toils of fishermen <i>Ἀππυς ἄγρας</i> . Ajax Flagell. 893.	61
10—17	63
14. This is now the third time] “A third time. St. John means no more than to say This is now a third time that I have mentioned. Other Evangelists mention other times; and John himself, ch. xx. 30. says “there were Many more.”	
Dr. Wall's Critical Notes on the New Testament.	179
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5—7	184, 185
6	177

## 2 CORINTHIANS.

viii. 23. St. Paul does not confine the name of Apostles to the Twelve] Messengers of the Churches are in the original of this verse Apostles. So Philipians ii. 25. Epaphroditus—your Messenger is in the original Your Apostle. See Suicer's Thesaurus under <i>Ἀπόστολος</i> . §. 3. and Wolfius on Rom. xvi. 7. and 2 Cor. viii. 23.	185
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 sis interpretationibus Itala  
 cæteris præfertur; nam est  
 verborum tenacior cum  
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 ii. cap. 15. 187  
 No. 2. Ut eas ingressas in  
 monumentum sic accipia-  
 mus, in aliquod scilicet  
 spatium, quod erat in ali-  
 qua maceria communitum,  
 ut intrari posset ante illum  
 faxeum sepulchri locum,  
 atque ibi vidisse angelum  
 sedentem supra lapidem  
 revolutum a monumento,  
 sicut dicit Matthæus, ut  
 hoc sit, sedentem a dextris,  
 quod dicit Marcus; de-  
 inde intus ab eis, dum  
 inspicerent locum in quo  
 jacebat corpus Domini,  
 visos alios duos angelos  
 stantes, sicut dicit Lucas.  
 Consensus Evangelistarum,  
 Ed. Frobenii. col. 508. 135  
 No. 3.



- No. 3. Meminerimus quem-  
admodum sibi Evange-  
listæ invicem attestantur,  
de quibusdam etiam quæ  
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" off, and west of Jerusa-  
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" many places as if paved  
" with a continual rock."  
Sandys' Travels, B. iii.  
page 135. If we suppose  
the roughness and inequa-  
lity of the way to have  
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equally

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*Καὶ τότε ἅγιοι τῶν ἁγίων ἀνθρώπων  
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- mony he gives an advantageous account in the Preface to his own Harmony p. xiii. No. 20. See Pilkington's Notes, No. 497. Mr. Pilkington, whose Harmony was prepared but not published, till Mr. West's Observations came out, agrees with him so far, as to make Mary Magdalene and the other Mary, taking no notice of Salome, go to the sepulchre and leave it again before the arrival of the other women. See page 62 of his Notes. 178. 180
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- The Evangelists assure us that this Sepulchre was hewn in the rock. The words of St. Matthew are ὁ λατόμος ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ, xxvii. 60. In every part of his Gospel, I believe, Πέτρα means a rock; undoubtedly so a little above: Ἀς πέτρας ἐσχίσθσαν. ver. 51. See Isai. xxii. 16. in the Septuagint; and Bishop Lowth's Note on the place. Origen, with a plain reference to the expressions of the Evangelists, speaks of the Sepulchre as cut out of one intire solid rock: Ἐν μὲν καὶ δι' ὧν ἀνωμένη πέτρα λατομητῇ καὶ λαξευτῇ. Contra Celsum, Lib. ii. p. 103. Ed. Cantab. 1658. In like manner Cyril of Jerusalem, in a passage referred to under his name in this Index, describes the tomb and the Σελήνη before it as cut out of the same rock: on which latter word see a learned Note of Grotius

tius on Matth. xxviii. 2. The same account we have heard St. Augustin give of it, p. 135. There is therefore no foundation either in the words of the Evangelists or the sense of antiquity for the conceit of Salmasius mentioned by Wolfius, on Mark xv. 46. that the sepulchre was built with hewn stones. Such stones are called by the Evangelists λίθοι. Matth. xxiv. 2. Mark xiii. 1. Luke xxi. 5.

“The antient *Μνημαῖα* were composed of two parts: one was the grave or tomb; which was likewise termed *μνημαῖον* in a strict sense of the word, and is known by several other names mostly taken from its form, as *Σπήλαιον*, *Τύμβος*, &c. : the second part was the ground surrounding the grave, which was fenced about with pales or walls, but usually open at the top, and therefore sometimes called *Ἰπταῖος*.” Pottet’s Antiquities of Greece, B. iv. chap. 7. page 221.

“In the year 1728, in a ground belonging to the noble family of the Thomasi, patricians of Siena, was discovered a narrow subterraneous sepulchre, hewn in a Travertine or sort of lime stone rock, little ex-

ceeding six Roman feet either in length or breadth.—In this there appeared no marks of hinges. And therefore it is no idle conjecture, that the door-way used to be closed with a large stone, as was done in the sepulchre of our Lord Christ.

“I give drawings in this work of two of these large stones that were dug up near the mouths of sepulchres: and it is to be observed, that on some of them Inscriptions have been found.”

Museum Etruscum Antonii Francisci Gorii. Vol. iii. Dissertat. 2. pag. 96. 18

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## CORRECTIONS.

Page lxviii. l. 15. read *mathals*.

Page 3. l. 19, 20. read *sections*.

44. read *SECT*.

53. v. 25. read *Except*.

94. l. ult. read *strenuously*.

95. note. read *Johannis—recentioribus*.

104. l. 17. read *needs*.

112. l. 27. read *warranty*.

118. l. 9. place a *femicolo*

120. l. 24. place !.

135. l. 5. read *hewn*.

162. l. 26. read *mighty*.

196. l. 40. read *isv*.

